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THE HISTORY

OF

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

COMPREHENDING

The Events of one complete Century and seventy-five years from the discovery of the River Pascataqua to the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

CONTAINING ALSO,

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE,

WITH

SKETCHES OF ITS NATURAL HISTORY, PRODUCTIONS, IMPROVEMENTS, AND PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS, LAWS, AND GOVERNMENT.

BY JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D.

Member of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, and of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts.

THE SECOND EDITION,

WITH LARGE ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS, PUBLISHED FROM THE AUTHOR'S LAST MANUSCRIPT.

ILLUSTRATED BY A MAP.

Tempus edax rerum, tuque invidiosa vetustas
Omnia destruitis: vitiataque dentibus ævi
Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte.
Hæc perstant. OVID.

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VOL. II.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY BRADFORD AND READ.
1813.



DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT :
District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eighteenth day of June, A. D. 1813, and in the thirty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, BRADFORD & READ, of the said District, have deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the words following, *to wit :*

The History of New-Hampshire. Comprehending the events of one complete century and seventy-five years from the discovery of the river Pascataqua to the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety. Containing also, a geographical description of the State, with sketches of its natural history, productions, improvements, and present state of society and manners, laws, and government. By JEREMY BELKNAP, D.D. member of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, and of the Academy o arts and sciences in Massachusetts. The second edition, with large additions and improvements, published from the author's last manuscript. Illustrated with a map.

Tempus edax rerum, tuque invidiosa vetustas
Omnia destruitis ; vititaque dentibus ævi
Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte.
Hæc perstant. OVID.

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned ;" and also to an Act entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, an Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned ; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other Prints."

WILLIAM S. SHAW, } *Clerk of the District*
} *of Massachusetts.*

PREFACE.

WHEN the first volume was printed, I had not seen the 'Political Annals' of the American Colonies, published in 1780, by George Chalmers, Esq. This gentleman, being in England, was favored with some advantages, of which I was destitute; having access to the books and papers of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, from the first establishment of that Board. He seems to possess the diligence and patience which are necessary in a historian; but either through inadvertence or want of candor, has made some misrepresentations respecting New-Hampshire, on which I shall take the liberty to remark.

In page 491, speaking of the first Council, of which President CUTTS was at the head, he says, 'they refused to take the accustomed 'oaths, as the English law required, because 'liberty of conscience was allowed them.' In the first volume of my history, page 144, I have said, 'they published the commission 'and took the oaths;' for which I cited the

Council records; and on recurring to them, I find the following entry, in the hand writing of Elias Stileman, Secretary.

'*January* 21, 1679—80.

'His Majeſty's Commiſſioners, nomynated 'in ſaid commiſſion, tooke their reſpective 'oathes, as menconed in ſaid commiſſion.'

That the oaths were really taken, is a fact beyond all diſpute; but if there is any ground for what Mr. Chalmers is pleaſed to call a refuſal, it muſt have been reſpecting the *form* of ſwearing; which was uſually done here by lifting the hand, and not by laying it on the bible, as was the form in England. Was it a forced conſtruction of the clauſe reſpecting liberty of conſcience, to ſuppoſe, that this indulgence was granted to them? What other uſe could they have made of this liberty, than to act according to the dictates of their conſciences? Is it then conſiſtent with candor, to publiſh an aſſertion, ſo worded as to admit the idea, that theſe gentlemen *refuſed* to obey an eſſential part of the duty preſcribed by the commiſſion, which they undertook to execute? Or is it conſiſtent with the character which he gives of the Preſident, CUTTS, p. 492, that 'he was allowed to have been an 'honeſt man and a loyal ſubject?' The commiſſion required them to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and an oath of of-

fice, which laſt is recited in the commiſſion; but not a word is ſaid of the mode and form, in which the oaths ſhould be taken; neither was it ſaid that they ſhould be taken 'as the 'Engliſh law required.' They were therefore left at their liberty, to take them in any form which was agreeable to their conſcience, or their former uſage.

In the ſame page (491) he ſays; 'An Aſ-'ſembly was ſoon called, which, by means 'of the uſual intrigues, was compoſed of 'perſons, extremely favorable to the projects 'of thoſe who now engroſſed power.' And in a note (page 507) 'the Council tranſmit-'ted to the towns, a liſt of thoſe who ſhould 'be allowed to vote.'

With what propriety can it be ſaid that theſe gentlemen *engroſſed* power, when they were commiſſioned by the King; and it is acknowledged, that not only their appointment, but their entering on office, was contrary to their inclinations?

That the perſons choſen into the Aſſembly ſhould be 'favorable' to the ſentiments of the Council, or of 'the wiſe men of Boſton,' was not the reſult of any intrigues; but becauſe the majority of the people were of the ſame mind. As to ſending 'a liſt of thoſe 'who ſhould be allowed to vote;' the true ſtate of the matter was this. The commiſſion provided for the calling of an Aſſembly,

within three months after the Council ſhould be ſworn, by ſummons under ſeal, 'uſing 'and obſerving therein ſuch rules and meth-'ods, as to the perſons who are to chooſe the 'deputies, and the time and place of meeting, 'as they (the Council) ſhall judge moſt con-'venient.' The mode which they judged moſt convenient was, to order the ſelect men of the four towns, to take a liſt of the names and eſtates of their reſpective inhabitants, according to their uſual manner of making taxes, and ſend it to the Council. The Council then iſſued an order, appointing *the perſons therein named*, to meet in their reſpective towns, and elect by a major vote, three perſons from each, to repreſent them in a general Aſſembly, on the 16th of March; and in the order, there is this proviſo, 'Provided 'that wee do not intend that what is now done 'be preſidential for the future, and that it 'ſhall extend noe farther, than to the calling 'this firſt aſſembly.'

Now as the rules and methods of calling an aſſembly, and the perſons who were to chooſe deputies, were left to the diſcretion of the Council; what more proper method could they have taken, than to call for a liſt of the inhabitants and their eſtates, and by that means to determine, who were qualified in point of property and habitancy to be electors? And as the numbers were few, and the perſons

well known, was it not as proper to name them at once, in the writs, as to eſtabliſh qualifications, and appoint other perſons to judge of thoſe qualifications; eſpecially when there was no law in force by which they could be judged? It is obſervable that each voter was ordered to take the oath of allegiance, if he had not taken it before; and in the liſt of names in the book, a mark is ſet againſt ſeveral perſons, who did not take the oath; and another againſt thoſe who did not appear at the election. Has this the appearance of *intrigue?*

In page 492, he ſays, 'they were extremely ſlow in conforming to preſent requiſitions, and paſſed no laws during the firſt ſeſſion.' Having again conſulted the records, I find in the Journal of the Council this entry, 'At a general Aſſembly held in Portſmouth, the 16th of March, 1679—80. Preſent, &c. Sundry laws and ordinances made *at this ſeſſion* are in another booke, for that purpoſe.'

In that other book, a body of laws is recorded, in the ſame hand writing, viz. of Stileman the Secretary, which bears the following title; 'The general laws and liberties of the Province of New-Hampſhire, made by the general Aſſembly in Portſmouth, the 16th day of March, 1679—80, and approved by the Preſident and Council.'

It appears from the books, that this Aſſem-

bly held four seſſions within the year, viz. on the 16th of March, the 7th of June, the 12th of October, and the 7th of December. As there is not a particular date to each law, but the whole code bears the date of the firſt ſeſſion in March; it may fairly be inferred, that the buſineſs was begun in the firſt ſeſſion, and continued through the other three; and when completed, was immediately ſent to England; for Mr. Chalmers himſelf tells us, that 'the 'laws which they tranſmitted, in conformity 'to their Conſtitution, had not the good for- 'tune to pleaſe, and were diſapproved of, by 'the Lords of the Committee of Plantations, '*in Dec.* 1681.'

From this ſtatement it may be concluded, that they were not ſlower in 'eſſaying their 'legiſlative talents,' than the neceſſity of proceeding with due deliberation required; and that there was no juſt cauſe for the reproach which he has caſt upon them.

In page 494, he gives this account of the character of the people of New-Hampſhire. 'When CRANFIELD arrived, he found the 'Province containing four thouſand inhabit- 'ants, extremely poor from the devaſtation 'of the Indian war. But when he ſpoke con- 'temptuouſly of the country which he had 'been ſent to rule, he ſeems not to have re- 'flected, that all Colonies had once known 'the like paucity of numbers, the ſame weak- 'neſs, and the ſame poverty; animated only

'by a *diſſimilar ſpirit* from that of New-Hamp-'ſhire, which now diſdained that *independence* '*on her neighbours*, that other Provinces had 'contended for, with enthuſiaſm. And oth-'er plantations, actuated by very different 'maxims, had not complained, even in their 'weakeſt days, of their inability to defend 'their frontiers, againſt the attacks of a foe, 'that has never proved dangerous, except to 'the *effeminate*, the factious, or the *cowardly*. 'When New Plimouth conſiſted only of two 'hundred perſons, of all ages and ſexes, it 'repulſed its enemies and ſecured its borders, 'with a gallantry worthy of its parent coun-'try; becauſe it ſtood alone, in the deſert, 'without hope of aid.'

That the people of New-Hampſhire ever deſerved the character of *effeminate* or *cowardly*, can by no means be admitted. Innumerable facts evince the contrary beyond a doubt. Had this author ever reſided among them, eſpecially in time of war, he would have thought quite otherwiſe of them. That the native ſavages have 'never proved a *dan-'gerous* foe, to any but the effeminate, the 'factious and the cowardly,' is an aſſertion totally unfounded. Their manner of attacking was always by ſurpriſe, and the braveſt and beſt men may ſometimes be deficient in vigilance, where no ſuſpicion of danger exiſts.

If the people of New-Hampſhire 'diſdain-ed independence,' let it be conſidered, that

they had been, for about 40 years, connected with Maſſachuſetts, to their mutual ſatisfaction; and the propoſed 'independence' which he means was but another name for ſubjection to a landlord. When independence, in its genuine meaning, became neceſſary, in 1776, they freely joined with their brethren in aſſerting it, and in bravely defending it.

Without any diſparagement to the firſt ſettlers of Plymouth, who, from the year 1643, were protected by a confederacy of the four New-England Colonies, it may with truth be ſaid, that the people of New-Hampſhire were never behind them, in vigorous exertions for their own defence, when they were conducted by officers in whom they could place confidence; but in Cranfield's time, there was no war with the Indians; though he attempted to frighten them into an apprehenſion of danger, from the Indians, to ſerve his own purpoſes.

The account which Mr. Chalmers gives of Cranfield's adminiſtration differs not very materially from mine, except in one inſtance.

He repreſents 'the miniſters as very attentive to him, becauſe they deemed him gained over to the Independents.' I have met with no evidence of this; the deception, if any, muſt have been very ſhort lived.

Mr. Chalmers ſays nothing of the proſecution of Moody, and of Cranfield's endeav-

ours to ruin him, for his non-conformity to the Church of England; but tells us that he 'deemed it unsafe, to remain any longer 'among the ministers, who ruled an enthusi-'astic people, with the same sway as did the 'popish clergy during the darkest ages;' and that in his letters to England, he 'gave warn-'ing, that while the clergy were allowed to 'preach, no true allegiance would be found 'in those parts.' This may be considered as a corroborating evidence of his bigotry and intolerance. Truth obliges me to add, that his opponents were not deficient in those unhappy qualities, which were too much in fashion among all parties in that age.

Mr. Chalmers concludes his account of New-Hampshire in these words. 'Being ex-'cluded from the charter granted to Massa-'chusetts, it has continued to the present time, 'a different, though *inconsiderable* settlement; 'irregular and factious in its economy, afford-'ing no precedents that may be of exemplary 'use to other Colonies.' What justice there is in this remark, the reader will be able to determine, from the following portion of its history, which, after much unavoidable delay, is now submitted to his perusal.

Boston, August 1, 1791.

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CHAP. XIII.

The adminiſtration of Governor SHUTE, *and his Lieutenants,* VAUGHAN *and* WENTWORTH.

GEORGE VAUGHAN, Eſq. was the ſon of Major William Vaughan, who had been ſo ill uſed by former Governors, and had ſuffered ſo much in the cauſe of his country, that the advancement of his ſon, to the office of Lieutenant Governor, was eſteemed a mark of particular favor, from the Crown to the Province, and a ſingular gratification to the parent, then in the decline of life. The Lieutenant Governor had been employed by the Province, as their agent in England, to manage their defence againſt Allen. There he was taken notice of, by ſome perſons of quality and influence, with whom his father had been connected; and by them he was recommended as a candidate for the honor to which he was now advanced. 1715.

After he had arrived, and opened his commiſſion; Dudley, though not actually ſuperſeded, yet daily expecting Burges to ſucceed him, did not think it proper to come into the Province, or perform any acts of government; ſo that, during a year, Vaughan had the ſole command. In this time he called an Aſſembly, who granted him the product of the impoſt and exciſe, for one year, but refuſed to eſtabliſh theſe duties for any longer time; upon which he diſſolved them, and called another; to whom he recommended, in a ſtyle too peremptory, the eſtabliſhment Oct. 13. Nov. 8. 1716. Auguſt 21. Aſſembly Records.

1716. of a perpetual revenue to the Crown; a matter in which he had been ſo much engaged, that while in England, 'he preſented a memorial to the King and Miniſtry, to bring 'New-England into the land tax of Great 'Britain; and propoſed that a Receiver ſhould 'be appointed by the Crown.' The Aſſembly was of opinion, that the public charges might be defrayed in the uſual manner, by an equal tax on polls and eſtates; and declined laying an impoſt, or entering on any, but the common buſineſs of the year, till the arrival of a Governor.

MS letter of Sir W. Aſhurſt to Dr. I. Mather.

Oct. 17. When Governor Shute came to the chair, ſeveral of the old Counſellors were laid aſide, and ſix new ones appointed, all of whom were inhabitants of Portſmouth. That town, at the ſame time, was unhappily agitated by a controverſy, which had for ſome years ſubſiſted between the two pariſhes. This had not only imbittered the minds of the people, but had prejudiced ſome of the members of the Council and Aſſembly; ſo as to effect the proceedings of the Legiſlature, and break the harmony, which had been preſerved in that body, during the preceding adminiſtration.

1717. The Governor, in his firſt ſpeech to the Aſ-
Jan. 10. ſembly, took notice of their diviſion, and adviſed them to unanimity. They thanked him for his advice, but remonſtrated againſt
Jan. 23. the removal of the old Counſellors, and the confining of the new appointments, both in the Council and the Judicial Courts, to reſidents in one town, as being contrary to former uſage, and giving an advantage, to the trading, above the landed intereſt. This, they ſaid, was the reaſon that an impoſt could not now

be obtained, and that the whole burden of taxes was laid on the huſbandman, and the laborer, who had been greatly impoveriſhed by the late war. The Governor wiſely avoided an anſwer to this remonſtrance, by putting it on the Council, who were a party in the controverſy. The Council, in their anſwer, acknowledged that the Province had been much diſtreſſed by the war; but had in a great meaſure recovered; that there would have been no oppoſition to an impoſt, if the Repreſentatives had agreed to an act of export, according to the practice in England; that the King had a right to appoint his Counſellors, from any part of the Province; that it was an affront to the prerogative to find fault with the exerciſe of this right; and that it was moſt convenient for the affairs of government, eſpecially upon ſudden emergencies, that the Council ſhould reſide near the ſeat of government. This anſwer might have appeared decent enough if they had not added, that they were 'gentlemen of the 'beſt quality, and greateſt ability to ſerve the 'government, in that ſtation; and had as 'good or better eſtates in land, and land ſe-'curities, than any in the Houſe, and not in-'ferior to the gentlemen who were laid aſide.'

1717. Jan. 20.

While theſe altercations were in hand there was a great complaint of the ſcarcity of money, and ſome expedient was judged neceſſary to ſupply the place of current coin. A propoſal was made to iſſue ten thouſand pounds in bills, on loan, for twenty-three years, at five per cent. on land ſecurity. In this both Houſes agreed; but the next day the Council propoſed to enlarge the ſum to

Jan. 24.

1717. fifteen thouſand pounds, to which the Houſe would not conſent. The Governor then ordered the Houſe to attend a conference with the Council; they deſired to know on what ſubject; he gave them no anſwer, but commanded their attendance. Having conferred about the propoſed loan to no purpoſe, the circumſtance of aſking on what ſubject they were to confer was deemed an affront, and ſerved as a pretext for diſſolving them. The next aſſembly was more pliant, and iſſued fifteen thouſand pounds, on loan, for eleven years, at ten per cent.

Aſſembly Records.

A controverſy alſo aroſe between the Governor and Lieutenant Governor about the power of the latter, in the abſence of the former. Vaughan contended, that when the Governor was preſent in his other Province, he was abſent from New-Hampſhire, and conſequently that the adminiſtration devolved on him. The poſition was a metaphyſical truth, but the inference was to be meaſured by political rules. Shute alleged that his commiſſions, being publiſhed and recorded, in New-Hampſhire and Maſſachuſetts, he had the power of commander in chief over both Provinces, during his reſidence in either; and thought it an abſurdity to ſuppoſe, that the King had appointed the Governor commander in chief, for five or ſix weeks only in the year, and the Lieutenant Governor during the reſt of the time; and that if the Lieutenant Governor ſhould happen, in that time, to ſtep over the Province line, the ſenior Counſellor muſt take the chair; this he ſaid would make the Province 'a monſter with three heads.' The contro-

verſy was ſoon brought to an iſſue; for 1717.
Vaughan received an order from Shute, while at Boſton, to appoint a faſt, which he did not obey; he received another to prorogue the Aſſembly, inſtead of which he diſſolved them, without the advice of Council. He required the opinion of the Council on the extent of his power, but they declined giving it. Penhallow, the Governor's chief friend, was a warm oppoſer of Vaughan's pretenſions, and incurred ſo much of his diſpleaſure, that he publicly charged him with ſowing diſcord in the government, and ſuſpended him from Sept. 24.
his ſeat in Council. On hearing this, Shute haſted to Portſmouth, and having ſummoned the Council, ordered the King's inſtruction to him for ſuſpending Counſellors to be read, and demanded of Vaughan whether he had any inſtruction which ſuperſeded it. He anſwered, No. The Governor then aſked the Council's advice whether the ſuſpenſion of Penhallow was legal; they anſwered in the negative. He then reſtored him to his Council Minutes.
ſeat, and ſuſpended Vaughan.

The Aſſembly, which Vaughan had aſſumed the right to diſſolve, met again, and approved the proceedings againſt him, juſtifying the conſtruction which the Governor had put on his commiſſion, and his opinion of the extent of the Lieutenant Governor's power; which was 'to obſerve ſuch orders, as he 'ſhould from time to time receive from the 'King or the Governor in chief.' The Repreſentatives of Hampton preſented a remonſtrance; in which, admitting the Lieutenant Governor's opinion that 'when the Gover-'nor is out of the Province, the Lieutenant

1717. 'Governor is impowered to execute the King's 'commiſſion,' and aſſerting that the Governor was not in the Province when the Lieutenant Governor diſſolved the Aſſembly, they declared that they could not act with the Houſe, unleſs they were re-elected. This remonſtrance was deemed a libel, and the Governor in Council having ſummoned them before him, laid them under bonds of four hundred pounds each, for their good behaviour. He then iſſued a proclamation, aſſerting his ſole power, as commander in chief; and declaring that the Lieutenant Governor had no right to exerciſe any acts of government without his ſpecial order.

Aſſembly Records.

Council Minutes.

Penhallow's MSS.

To maintain a controverſy with a ſuperior officer on the extent of power, equally claimed by both, requires a delicacy and addreſs which does not fall to the lot of every man. An aſpiring and precipitate temper may bring on ſuch a contention, but diſqualifies the perſon from managing it with propriety. Had Vaughan propoſed to ſubmit the queſtion to the King, he would have acted more in character, and might have preſerved his reputation, though he had loſt his power. But having offended the Governor, and diſguſted the Council and Aſſembly, he could hope for no favor from the Crown. When the report of the proceedings was ſent to England, Sir William Aſhurſt, who had great intereſt at Court, and was a friend to New-England, and who greatly diſreliſhed the memorial which Vaughan had formerly preſented to the King, eaſily found means to diſplace him; and in his room was appointed JOHN WENTWORTH, Eſq. whoſe com-

Aſhurſt's letter MS.

miſſion was publiſhed on the ſeventh of December. 1717.

The celebrated Mr. Addiſon, being then Secretary of State, this commiſſion is counterſigned by a name particularly dear to the friends of liberty and literature. Orig. MS.

John Wentworth, Eſq. grandſon of William Wentworth, formerly mentioned as one of the firſt ſettlers of the country, had been in the early part of his life, commander of a ſhip; and had acquired a handſome fortune by mercantile induſtry. Without any ſuperior abilities or learning, by a ſteady attention to buſineſs, and a prudent, obliging deportment, he had recommended himſelf to the eſteem of the people. Having been five years in the Council, before his appointment as Lieutenant Governor, he had carried the ſame uſeful qualities into public life, and preſerved or increaſed that reſpect which he had acquired in a private ſtation. The rancour of contending parties made moderation a neceſſary character in a chief magiſtrate; and the circumſtances of the Province, at that time, required a perſon of experience in trade, at its head.

It being a time of peace, after a long and diſtreſſing war, the improvement of which the Province was capable, in regard to its natural productions, lumber and naval ſtores, roſe into view and became objects of cloſe attention both here and in England. As early as 1668, the government of Maſſachuſetts, under which the Province then was, had reſerved for the public uſe all white pine trees of twenty-four inches in diameter, at three feet from the ground. In King William's reign, a ſurveyor of the woods was appointed Maſſ. Rec.

Council Minutes.

1717. by the Crown; and an order was sent to the Earl of Bellamont, to cause acts to be passed in his several governments for the preservation of the white pines. In 1708 a law made in New-Hampshire prohibited the cutting of such as were twenty-four inches in diameter, at twelve inches from the ground, without leave of the surveyor; who was instructed by the Queen, to mark with the broad arrow, those which were or might be fit for the use of the navy, and to keep a register of them. Whatever severity might be used in executing the law, it was no difficult matter for those who knew the woods and were concerned in lumber, to evade it; though sometimes they were detected and fined. Great complaints were frequently made of the destruction of the royal woods; every Governor and Lieutenant Governor had occasion to declaim on the subject in their speeches and letters; it was a favorite point in England, and recommended them to their superiors as careful guardians of the royal interest. On the other hand, the people made as loud complaints against the surveyor, for prohibiting the cutting of pine trees, and yet neglecting to mark such as were fit for masts; by which means many trees, which never could be used as masts, and might be cut into logs for sawing, were rotting in the woods; or the people who got them were exposed to a vexatious prosecution. When no surveyor was on the spot, the Governor and Council appointed suitable persons to take care that no waste should be made of the mast trees; and these officers, with a very moderate allowance, performed the duty, to much better purpose,

Laws Chap. 20.

Usher's MSS.

Council & Assembly Records.

Penhallow's MSS.

than thoſe who were ſent from England and maintained at a great expenſe to the Crown. 1717. Aſſembly Records.

As thoſe trees which grew within the limits of the townſhips were deemed private property, the people were deſirous to get other townſhips laid out, that the trees might be ſecured for their own uſe. This was a difficult point. The Aſſembly, in 1704, during the controverſy with Allen, had explicitly diſclaimed all title to the waſte lands, by which they underſtood all thoſe without the bounds of their towns. The heirs of Allen kept a jealous eye upon them. Uſher, who claimed by mortgage from Governor Allen, was ſtill living, and was daily inviting purchaſers by advertiſements. The heir of Sir Charles Hobby, whoſe claim was founded on purchaſe from Thomas Allen, had offered his title to the Aſſembly, but they had refuſed it. The creditors of Hobby's eſtate had applied for letters of adminiſtration; and though the matter had been, by the Judge of Probate, ſubmitted to the General Court, and by their advice ſuſpended, yet the letters had been granted. Allen's other heirs were in a ſtate of minority in England; but their guardian was attentive to their intereſt. The controverſy had become more complex than before; and the claimants, however multiplied in number and diſcordant in their views, yet had an intereſt ſeparate from that of the public. The royal determination could not be had, but on an appeal from a verdict at law; but no ſuits were now pending; nor could the lands be granted by royal charter, without ſeeming to intrench on the property of the claimants. Notwithſtanding theſe 1718. N. England Courants. Aſſembly Records. Print. ſtate of Allen's title.

1718. difficulties, the neceſſity of extending the ſettlements, and improving the natural advantages of the country, was too apparent to be neglected.

1719. Great quantities of iron ore were found in many places; and it was in contemplation to erect forges on ſome of the rivers and to introduce foreign artiſts and labourers to refine it. A law was made laying a penalty of ten pounds per ton on the tranſporting of it out of the Province; but for the further encouragement of the manufacture, it was deemed neceſſary, that ſome lands ſhould be appropriated, to the purpoſe of ſupplying with fuel, the iron works which were to be erected, on Lamprey river, and of ſettling the people who were to be employed in that ſervice. On this occaſion, it was recollected, that in 1672, while this province was ſubject to the Maſſachuſetts government, and after the town of Portſmouth had made a liberal contribution for the rebuilding of Harvard College, a promiſe had been made by the General Court to grant to that town a quantity of 'land for a village, when they ſhould 'declare to the Court the place where they 'deſired it.' Upon this, a petition was preſented to the Governor and Council praying for a fulfilment of this promiſe; and after ſome heſitation, a grant was made of a ſlip of land two miles in breadth above the head line of Dover, for the uſe of the iron works, which was called the 'renewing a grant for-'merly made.' This was known by the name of the two mile ſlip, and it was afterward included in the townſhip of Barrington.

Laws Chap. 90.

Council Minutes.

Maſſ. Rec.

Council Minutes.

In ſome parts of the province, were many

pitchpine trees, unfit for masts, but capable of yielding tar and turpentine. A monopoly of this manufacture had been attempted by a company of merchants; but when many thousand trees were prepared for use, they were destroyed by unknown hands. Afterwards a law was made providing that tar should be received in lieu of taxes, at twenty shillings per barrel. This encouraged the making of it for some time. Another law laid a penalty on the injuring of trees for drawing turpentine. But private interest was too strong to be counteracted by a sense of public utility. Too many incisions being made in the trees at once, they were soon destroyed; and as those which were near at hand became scarce, the manufacture was gradually discontinued. 1719. Council Minutes. Laws. Chap. 19 Chap. 94

Hemp was another object. Some had been sown, and from the specimen of its growth, much advantage was expected. An act was made to encourage it; and it was allowed to be received at the Treasury, in lieu of money, at one shilling per pound. But as there was scarcely land enough in cultivation, for the production of corn, it was vain to think of raising a less necessary commodity. Chap. 94.

The Parliament of England was attentive to the advantages which might be derived to the nation from the Colonies, to which they were particularly incited by the war, which at this time raged between Sweden and Russia, the grand marts for naval stores in Europe. A duty which had been paid on lumber imported from America, was taken off; and this was esteemed so great a favor to New-Hampshire that the Assembly thanked Assembly Records.

1719. Shute for the ſhare he had in obtaining it. About the ſame time, an act of Parliament was made for the preſervation of the white pines. Penalties in proportion to the ſize of the trees, were laid on the cutting of thoſe which grew without the bounds of townſhips; and for the greater terror, theſe penalties were to be recovered by the oath of one witneſs, in a Court of Admiralty; where a ſingle Judge, appointed by the Crown, and removeable at pleaſure, determined the cauſe without a Jury. While this bill was pending, Henry Newman, the Agent for New-Hampſhire, petitioned againſt the ſeverity of it, but without effect.

Statute of George I. Chap 12.

MS petition.

Great inconveniences had ariſen for want of a due ſettlement of the limits of the Province. The people who lived near the ſuppoſed line, were ſometimes taxed in both Provinces, and were liable to arreſts by the officers of both; and ſometimes the officers themſelves were at variance, and impriſoned each other. Several attempts had been made to remove the difficulty, and letters frequently paſſed between the two Courts on the ſubject, in conſequence of petitions and complaints from the borderers. In 1716, Commiſſioners were appointed by both Provinces, to ſettle the line. The New-Hampſhire Commiſſioners were furniſhed by Lieutenant Governor Vaughan, with a copy of the report of the Lords Chief Juſtices in 1677, and were inſtructed 'to follow the courſe of 'the river Merrimack, at the diſtance of three 'miles north as far as the river extends.' The commiſſioners on the other ſide complained that this power was not ſufficient; if by ſuf-

Original MS. inſtruſtions.

MS letter Lt. Governor Wentworth.

ficient it was meant that they had no power to vary from their inſtructions, the objection was true, but why this ſhould have been objected it is not eaſy to account, ſince the inſtructions would have given Maſſachuſetts all which they could claim by virtue of their old charter; or the judgment upon it, on which they always laid much ſtreſs. Three years afterward the affair was agitated again, in obedience to an order from the Lords of Trade; who directed a map to be drawn and ſent to them, in which the boundaries of the Province ſhould be delineated, and the beſt accounts and vouchers procured to elucidate it. Commiſſioners were again appointed to meet at Newbury; and thoſe from New-Hampſhire were inſtructed by Lieutenant Governor Wentworth to confer with the others; and if they could agreee, in fixing the place where to begin the line, they were to report accordingly; but if not, they were to proceed *ex parte*, 'ſetting their compaſs on 'the north ſide of the mouth of Merrimack 'river at high water mark, and from thence 'meaſuring three miles on a north line, and 'from the end of the firſt three miles on a 'weſt line into the country, till they ſhould 'meet the great river which runs out of 'Winipiſiogee pond.' To this idea of a weſt line, the Maſſachuſetts Commiſſioners objected; and deſired that the commiſſion of the Governor of New-Hampſhire might be ſent to Newbury, which was refuſed, and the conference ended without any agreement. However, a plan was drawn agreeably to theſe inſtructions, and ſent to the Lords of Trade; and Newman the Agent was in-

1719.

Original MS order.

Original MS inſtructions.

1719. ſtructed to ſolicit for a confirmation of it. In theſe inſtructions, the ideas of the gentlemen in government are more fully expreſſed.

Penhallow's MSS. The due weſt line on the ſouthern ſide of the Province, they ſuppoſed, ought to extend as far as Maſſachuſetts extended. The line on the northerly ſide adjoining to the Province of Maine, they ſuppoſed, ought to be drawn up the middle of the river Piſcataqua, as far as the tide flows in the Newwichwannock branch; and thence northweſtward, but whether two or more points weſtward of north was left for further conſideration.

While theſe things were in agitation, the Province unexpectedly received an acceſſion of inhabitants from the north of Ireland. A colony of Scots preſbyterians had been ſettled

Hume. in the Province of Ulſter, in the reign of James I; they had borne a large ſhare in the ſufferings, which the proteſtants in that unhappy country underwent, in the reign of Charles I and James II; and had thereby conceived an ardent and inextinguiſhable thirſt for civil and religious liberty. Notwithſtanding the peace which Ireland had enjoyed, ſince the ſubjection of the Popiſh party by King William, ſome penal laws were ſtill in force; which, with the inconvenience of rents and tithes, made theſe people wiſh for a ſettlement in America; where they might be free from theſe burthens and have full ſcope for their induſtry. One Holmes, a young man, ſon of a clergyman, had been here and carri-

MS of John Harvey. ed home a favorable report of the country, which induced his father, with three other preſbyterian Miniſters, James Macgregore, William Cornwell, and William Boyd, and a

large number of their congregations, to resolve on an emigration. Having converted their substance into money, they embarked in five ships, and about one hundred families of them arrived at Boston. Cornwell, with about twenty families more, arrived a Casco. They immediately petitioned the Assembly of Massachusetts for a tract of land; who gave them leave to look out a settlement of six miles square, in any of the unappropriated lands at the eastward. After a fruitless search along the shore, finding no place that suited them there; sixteen families, hearing of a tract of good land, above Haverhill, called Nutfield (from the great number of chesnut and walnut trees there) and being informed that it was not appropriated, determined there to take up their grant; the others dispersed themselves into various parts of the country. 1719. Oct. 14, 1718.

As soon as the spring opened, the men went from Haverhill, where they left their families, and built some huts near a brook which falls into Beaver River, and which they named West-running brook. The first evening after their arrival, a sermon was preached to them under a large oak, which, is to this day regarded with a degree of veneration. As soon as they could collect their families, they called Macgregore to be their minister, who since his arrival in the country had preached at Dracut. At the first sacramental occasion, were present two ministers and sixty-five communicants. Macgregore continued with them till his death; and his memory is still precious among them: He was a wise, affectionate and faithful guide to them, both in civil and religious concerns. These people April 11. March, 3, 1729. Æta 52.

1719. brought with them the neceſſary materials for the manufacture of linen; and their ſpinning wheels, turned by the foot, were a novelty in the country. They alſo introduced the culture of potatoes, which were firſt planted in the garden of Nathaniel Walker of Andover. They were an induſtrious, frugal and conſequently thriving people.

They met with ſome difficulty in obtaining a title to their lands. If the due weſt line between the Provinces had been eſtabliſhed, it would have paſſed through their ſettlement and divided it between Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire; but the curve line, following the courſe of Merrimack at three miles diſtance, would leave them unqueſtionably in New-Hampſhire. This was the idea of the General Court of Maſſachuſetts, who, upon application to them for a confirmation of their former grant, declared them to be out of their juriſdiction. Among the many claimants to theſe lands, they were informed, that Col. Wheelwright of Wells had the beſt Indian title, derived from his anceſtors. Suppoſing this to be valid in a moral view, they followed the example of the firſt ſettlers of New-England, and obtained a deed of ten miles ſquare, in virtue of the general licenſe granted by the Indian Sagamores in 1629. To prevent difficulty from Allen's claim, they applied for leave of ſettlement to Col. Uſher, who told them that the land was in diſpute, and that he could not give them leave, but that he ſuppoſed they might ſettle on it, if they would hold it either of the King or of Allen's heirs, as the caſe might be determined. They alſo applied to the Lieu-

Uſher's MSS.

tenant Governor of New-Hampshire, who declined making them a grant in the King's name; but, by advice of Council, gave them a protection, and extended the benefit of the law to them; appointing James M'Kean to be a Justice of the Peace, and Robert Wier a Deputy Sheriff. 1719. Council Minutes.

Some persons who claimed these lands, by virtue of a deed of about twenty years date, from John, an Indian Sagamore, gave them some disturbance; but, having obtained what they judged a superior title, and enjoying the protection of government, they went on with their plantation; receiving frequent additions of their countrymen, as well as others, till in 1722, their town was incorporated by the name of Londonderry, from a city in the north of Ireland, in and near to which most of them had resided; and in which some of them had endured the hardships of a memorable siege.* 1720. Harvey's and Macgregore's MSS.

The settlement of these emigrants, on the waste lands, opened the way for other plantations. Those who had borne the burthens

*John Barr, William Caldwell and Abraham Blair, with several others who had suffered in this siege, and came to America, were by King William's special order made free of taxes through all the British dominions.

This, with several other circumstances relating to these people, I took from a manuscript letter written (1729) by Mr. John Harvey, schoolmaster in Londonderry, to Mr. Prince. In the same letter was the following brief account of the siege above mentioned. 'Londonderry was 'besieged near half a year (1689) by King James's army, when he had 'all Ireland subdued but Derry and a little place hard by. The besieged 'defended the city, most of them being presbyterians, till they were very 'much pinched by famine, that a dog's head was sold cheap enough at half 'a crown; and yet God supported them until King William sent them 'relief by two ships with men and provisions from England; at which 'sight before the ships got up to the city and landed their men, the be-'siegers moved their camp and fled to the west of Ireland, where after-'wards two bloody battles were fought and the papists subdued.

'Two things further (says he) I have to relate respecting Derry. 1. The 'church of Derry is so strongly built with stone and lime that in the stee-'ple they had a cannon fixed, which did more hurt to the Irish army than 'six upon the walls. 2. There was one Col. Murray in the siege. He 'and a party were out against the enemy, and having got the advantage

1720. and diſtreſſes of war, in defending the country, had long been circumſcribed within the limits of the old towns; but were now multiplied, and required room to make ſettlements for their children. They thought it hard to be excluded from the privelege of cultivating the lands, which they and their fathers had defended; while ſtrangers were admitted to ſit down peaceably upon them. Theſe were weighty reaſons. At the ſame time no attempt was making, by any of the claimants, to determine the long conteſted point of property; and in fact, no perſon could give a clear and undiſputed title to any of the unſettled lands.

In theſe circumſtances, a company of about one hundred perſons, inhabitants of Portſmouth, Exeter and Haverhill, petitioned for liberty to begin a plantation, on the northerly part of the lands called Nutfield. Theſe were ſoon followed by petitioners from the other towns, for the lands which lay contiguous to them. The Governor and Council kept the petitions ſuſpended for a long time, giving public notice to all perſons concerned to make their objections. In this time the lands were ſurveyed, and the limits of four

1721.

'in an engagement with them a mile from the walls, the enemy's General, 'who was a Frenchman, and he, met; and having both fired their piſtols, 'drew their ſwords, and the General having a coat of mail, had the advantage of Murray, ſo that he could not hurt him. At length Murray 'obſerving that there was no touching him but through the harneſs in his 'face, put his ſword in through the bars of the harneſs and killed him.' They made a great ſlaughter that day.'

Nothing was more offenſive to theſe emigrants than to be called IRISH. Macgregore in a letter to Governor Shute, (1720) ſays: 'We are ſurpri'ſed to hear ourſelves termed Iriſh people, when we ſo frequently ventur'ed our all for the Britiſh Crown and liberties againſt the Iriſh papiſts; 'and gave all teſts of our loyalty, which the government of Ireland re'quired, and are always ready to do the ſame when demanded.'

The people of this country did not underſtand the diſtinction; nor in fact did they treat theſe ſtrangers with common decency on their firſt arrival. The grudge ſubſiſted a long time, but is now worn out.

propoſed townſhips determined; and the people were permitted to build and plant upon the lands 'provided that they did not infringe 'on, or interfere with, any former grants, 'poſſeſſions or properties.' Some of theſe lands were well ſtocked with pine trees; which were felled in great abundance; this occaſioned a freſh complaint from the King's ſurveyor. 1721. April 21. Council Records.

At length, charters being prepared, were ſigned by the Governor; by which four townſhips, Cheſter, Nottingham, Barrington and Rocheſter were granted and incorporated. The grants were made in the name of the King, who was conſidered as the common guardian, both of the people and the claimants; but with a clauſe of reſervation, '*as far as in us lies*,' that there might be no infringement on the claims. 1722. May 10.

The ſigning of theſe grants was the laſt act of Government performed by Shute in New-Hampſhire. A violent party in Maſſachuſetts had made ſuch ſtrenuous oppoſition to him and cauſed him ſo much vexation, as rendered it eligible for him to aſk leave to return to England. He is ſaid to have been a man of a humane, obliging and friendly diſpoſition; but having been uſed to military command, could not bear with patience the colliſion of parties, nor keep his temper when provoked. Fond of eaſe, and now in the decline of life, he would gladly have ſpent his days in America if he could have avoided controverſy. The people of New-Hampſhire were ſatisfied with his adminiſtration, as far as it reſpected them; and though they did not ſettle a ſalary on him as on his predeceſ-

1722. for, yet they made him a grant twice in the year, generally amounting to a hundred pounds, and paid it out of the excise which was voted from year to year. This was more in proportion, than he received from his other government. On his departure for England, which was very sudden and unexpected, Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, took the chief command, in a time of distress and perplexity; the country being then involved in another war with the natives.

Assembly Records.

1723. June 1.

CHAP. XIV.

The fourth Indian War, commonly called the three years war, or LOVEWELL'S *war.*

TO account for the frequent wars with the eaſtern Indians, uſually called by the French, the Abenaquis, and their unſteadineſs both in war and peace; we muſt obſerve, that they were ſituated between the Colonies of two European nations, who were often at war with each other, and who purſued very different meaſures with regard to them.

As the lands, on which they lived, were comprehended in the patents granted by the crown of England, the natives were conſidered by the Engliſh, as ſubjects of that crown. In the treaties and conferences held with them, they were ſtyled the King's ſubjects; when war was declared againſt them, they were called rebels; and when they were compelled to make peace, they ſubſcribed an acknowledgement of their perfidy, and a declaration of their ſubmiſſion to the government, without any juſt ideas of the meaning of thoſe terms; and it is a difficult point, to determine what kind of ſubjects they were.

Beſide the patents, derived from the Crown, the Engliſh in general were fond of obtaining from the Indians, deeds of ſale for thoſe lands, on which they were diſpoſed to make ſettlements. Some of theſe deeds were executed with legal formality, and a valuable conſideration was paid to the natives for the purchaſe;

others were of obſcure and uncertain original; but the memory of ſuch tranſactions was ſoon loſt, among a people who had no written records. Lands had been purchaſed of the Indian chiefs, on the Rivers Kennebeck and St. George, at an early period; but the ſucceeding Indians either had no knowledge of the ſales made by their anceſtors, or had an idea that ſuch bargains were not binding on poſterity; who had as much need of the lands, and could uſe them to the ſame purpoſe as their fathers. At firſt, the Indians did not know that the European manner of cultivating lands, and erecting mills and dams, would drive away the game and fiſh, and thereby deprive them of the means of ſubſiſtence; afterward, finding by experience that this was the conſequence of admitting foreigners to ſettle among them, they repented of their hoſpitality, and were inclined to diſpoſſeſs their new neighbours, as the only way of reſtoring the country to its priſtine ſtate, and of recovering their uſual mode of ſubſiſtence.

They were extremely offended by the ſettlements, which the Engliſh, after the peace of Utretcht, made on the lands at the eaſtward, and by their building forts, block houſes and mills; whereby their uſual mode of paſſing the rivers and carrying-places was interrupted; and they could not believe, though they were told with great ſolemnity, that theſe fortifications were erected for *their* defence againſt invaſion. When conferences were held with them on this ſubject, they either denied that the lands had been ſold, or pretended that the Sachems had exceeded

Governor Shute's conference 1717.

their power in making the bargains; or had conveyed lands beyond the limits of their tribe; or that the Engliſh had taken advantage of their drunkenneſs to make them ſign the deeds; or that no valuable conſideration had been given for the purchaſe. No arguments or evidence which could be adduced would ſatisfy them, unleſs the lands were paid for again; and had this been done once, their poſterity after a few years would have renewed the demand. Waldo's defence of Loveret's title.

On the other hand, the French did not in a formal manner declare them ſubjects of the crown of France; but every tribe, however ſmall, was allowed to preſerve its independence. Thoſe who were ſituated in the heart of Canada kept their lands to themſelves, which were never ſolicited from them; thoſe who dwelt on the rivers and ſhores of the Atlantic, though diſtant from the French Colonies, received annual preſents from the King of France; and ſolitary traders reſided with, or occaſionally viſited them; but no attempt was made by any company to ſettle on their lands. Abbe Raynal.

It was in the power of the Engliſh to ſupply them with proviſions, arms, ammunition, blankets and other articles which they wanted, cheaper than they could purchaſe them of the French. Governor Shute had promiſed that trading houſes ſhould be eſtabliſhed among them*, and that a ſmith ſhould be provided to keep their arms and other inſtruments in repair; but the unhappy conten- 1717.

* The reader is deſired to correct a miſtake in the firſt volume, inſtead of 'truck houſes eſtabliſhed,' read 'it was in contemplation to eſtabliſh truck houſes.'

1717. tions between the Governor and Assembly of Massachusetts prevented a compliance with this engagement. The Indians were therefore obliged to submit to the impositions of private traders, or to seek supplies from the French; who failed not to join with them in reproaching the English for this breach of promise, and for their avidity in getting away the land.

The inhabitants of the eastern parts of New-England were not of the best character for religion, and were ill adapted to engage the affections of the Indians by their example. The frequent hostilities on this quarter, not only kept alive a spirit of jealousy and revenge in individuals, but prevented any endeavors to propagate religious knowledge among the Indians by the government; though it was one of the conditions of their charter; and though many good men wished it might be attempted. At length Governor Shute, in his conference with their Sachems at Arrowsic, introduced this important business by offering them in a formal manner, an Indian bible, and a protestant missionary; but they rejected both, saying 'God hath 'given us teaching already, and if we should 'go from it we should displease him.' He would have done much better service, and perhaps prevented a war, if he had complied with their earnest desire to fix a boundary, beyond which the English should not extend their settlements.

Judge Sewal's memorial.

A gentleman, in conversation with one of their Sachems, asked him why they were so strongly attached to the French, from whom they could not expect to receive so much ben-

Penhallow's MSS.

fit as from the Engliſh; the Sachem grave- 1717.
ly anſwered, 'Becauſe the French have taught
'us to pray to God, which the Engliſh never
'did.'

It has been obſerved in the former part of this work, that the Jeſuits had planted themſelves among theſe tribes. They had one Church at Penobſcot, and another at Norridgwog, where Sebaſtian Ralle, a French Jeſuit, reſided. He was a man of good ſenſe, learning and addreſs, and by a compliance with their mode of life, and a gentle, condeſcending deportment, had gained their affections ſo as to manage them at his pleaſure. Knowing the power of ſuperſtition over the ſavage mind, he took advantage of this, and of their prejudice againſt the Engliſh, to promote the cauſe, and ſtrengthen the intereſt of the French among them. He even made the offices of devotion ſerve as incentives to their ferocity, and kept a flag, in which was depicted a croſs, ſurrounded by bows and arrows, which he uſed to hoiſt on a pole, at the door of his church, when he gave them abſolution, previouſly to their engaging in any warlike enterpriſe.

Vol. I. Page 254.

New-England Courant, No. 160.

With this Jeſuit, the Governor of Canada held a cloſe correſpondence; and by him was informed of every thing tranſacted among the Indians. By this means, their diſcontent with the Engliſh, on account of the ſettlements made at the eaſtward, was heightened and inflamed; and they received every encouragement, to aſſert their title to the lands in queſtion, and moleſt the ſettlers, by killing their cattle, burning their ſtacks of hay, robbing and inſulting them. Theſe in-

1720. ſolencies diſcouraged the people, and cauſed many of them to remove. The garriſons were then reinforced; and ſcouting parties were ordered into the eaſtern quarter, under the command of Col. Shadrach Walton. By this appearance of force, the Indians, who dreaded the power of the Engliſh, were reſtrained from open hoſtilities. They had frequent parleys with the commanders of forts, and with commiſſioners who viſited them occaſionally; and though at firſt they ſeemed to be reſolute in demanding the removal of the Engliſh, declaring that 'they 'had fought for the land three times, and 'would fight for it again;' yet when they were told that there was no alternative but perfect peace or open war, and that if they choſe peace they muſt forbear every kind of inſult, they ſeemed to prefer peace; and either pretended ignorance of what had been done, or promiſed to make inquiry into it; and as an evidence of their good intentions, offered a tribute of ſkins, and delivered up four of their young men as hoſtages.

Captain Penhallow's MSS.

This proceeding was highly diſreliſhed by the Governor of Canada; who renewed his efforts to keep up the quarrel, and ſecretly promiſed to ſupply the Indians with arms and ammunition; though as it was a time of peace between the two crowns, he could not openly aſſiſt them.

Hutchinſon H. 263.

The New-England Governments, though highly incenſed, were not eaſily perſuaded to conſent to a war. The diſpute was between the Indians and the proprietors of the eaſtern lands, in which the public were not directly intereſted. No blood had as yet been ſhed.

Canſeau had been ſurpriſed and plundered, and ſome people killed there; but that was in the government of Nova-Scotia. Ralle was regarded as the principal inſtigator of the Indians; and it was thought, that if he could be taken off they would be quiet. It was once propoſed to ſend the Sheriff of York County with a poſſe of one hundred and fifty men, to ſeize and bring him to Boſton; but this was not agreed to. The next ſummer, Ralle in company with Caſtine from Penobſcot, and Croiſil from Canada, appeared among the Indians, at a conference held on Arrowſic Iſland, with Capt. Penhallow, the commander of the garriſon, and brought a letter, written in the name of the ſeveral tribes of Indians, directed to Governor Shute; in which it was declared, 'that if the Engliſh 'did not remove in three weeks, they would 'kill them and their cattle, and burn their 'houſes.' An additional guard was ſent down; but the government, loth to come to a rupture, and deſirous if poſſible to treat with the Indians ſeparately from the French emiſſaries, invited them to another conference, which invitation they treated with neglect.

1720. 1721. July.

In the ſucceeding winter, a party under Col. Thomas Weſtbrooke was ordered to Noridgwog to ſeize Ralle. They arrived at the village undiſcovered, but before they could ſurround his houſe, he eſcaped into the woods, leaving his papers in his ſtrong box, which they brought off without doing any other damage. Among theſe papers were his letters of correſpondence with the Governor of Canada, by which it clearly appeared, that he was deeply engaged in exciting the In-

1722. dians to a rupture, and had promiſed to aſſiſt them.

This attempt to ſeize their ſpiritual father, could not long be unrevenged. The next ſummer they took nine families from Merry-meeting bay, and after diſmiſſing ſome of the priſoners, retained enough to ſecure the redemption of their hoſtages and ſent them to Canada. About the ſame time they made an attempt on the fort at St. George's; but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. They alſo ſurpriſed ſome fiſhing veſſels in the eaſtern harbours; and at length made a furious attack on the town of Brunſwick, which they deſtroyed. This action determined the government to iſſue a declaration of war againſt them, which was publiſhed in form at Boſton and Portſmouth.

June 13. Penhallow's Indian wars, p. 85.

July 25.

New-Hampſhire being ſeated in the boſom of Maſſachuſetts, had the ſame intereſt to ſerve, and bore a proportionable ſhare of all theſe tranſactions and the expenſes attending them. Walton, who firſt commanded the forces ſent into the eaſtern parts, and Weſtbrooke, who ſucceeded him, as well as Penhallow, the commander of the fort at Arrowſic, were New-Hampſhire men; the two former were of the Council. A declaration of war being made, the enemy were expected on every part of the frontiers; and the Aſſembly were obliged to concert meaſures for their ſecurity, after an interval of peace for about ten years.

The uſual route of the Indians, in their marches to the frontiers of New-Hampſhire, was by the way of Winipiſeogee lake. The diſtance from Cochecho falls in the town of

Dover, to the ſoutheaſt bay of that lake, is about thirty miles. It was thought that if a road could be opened to that place, and a fort built there, the enemy would be prevented from coming that way. Orders were accordingly iſſued, and a party of two hundred and fifty men were employed in cutting down the woods for a road; but the expenſe ſo far exceeded the benefit which could be expected from a fort at ſuch a diſtance, in the wilderneſs, to be ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition by land carriage, which might eaſily be interrupted by the enemy, that the deſign was laid aſide, and the old method of defence by ſcouts and garriſons was adopted. Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, being Commander in Chief in Shute's abſence, was particularly careful to ſupply the garriſons with ſtores, and viſit them in perſon, to ſee that the duty was regularly performed; for which, and other prudent and faithful ſervices, he frequently received the acknowledgments of the Aſſembly and grants of money, generally amounting to one hundred pounds at every ſeſſion, and ſometimes more. They alſo took care to inliſt men for two years, and to eſtabliſh the wages of officers and ſoldiers at the following rates; a Captain, at ſeven pounds per month; a Lieutenant, four pounds; a Sergeant, fifty-eight ſhillings; a Corporal, forty-five ſhillings, and a private, forty ſhillings. A bounty of one hundred pounds was offered for every Indian ſcalp. The difference between the currency and ſterling, was two and an half for one. 1722. Aſſembly Records.

The firſt appearance of the enemy in New-Hampſhire, was at Dover; where they ſur- 1723.

1723. prifed and killed Joſeph Ham, and took three of his children; the reſt of the family eſcaped to the garriſon. Soon after they waylaid the road, and killed Triſtram Heard. Their next onſet was at Lamprey River, where they killed Aaron Rawlins and one of his children, taking his wife and three children captive.*

Penhallow page 96.

Auguſt 29.

1724. The next ſpring they killed James Nock, one of the elders of the church at Oyſter River, as he was returning on horſeback from

May 1. MS of Rev. Hugh Adams.

* 'This Aaron Rawlins (whoſe wife was a daughter of Edward Taylor, who was killed by the Indians 1704) lived upon the plantation left by Taylor, about half a mile weſt from Lamprey River landing, at the lower falls on Piſcaſick River. The people there at that time, commonly retired, at night, to the garriſoned houſes, and returned home in the day time; but that night they neglected to retire as uſual. His brother Samuel alſo lived about half a mile diſtant on the ſame river. It ſeems the Indian ſcout conſiſted of eighteen, who probably had been reconnoitering ſome time, and intended to have deſtroyed both the families, and for that purpoſe divided, and nine went to each houſe; but the party that went to Samuel Rawlins's, beating in the window, and finding the family gone, immediately joined their companions, who were engaged at Aaron's. His wife went out at the door, perhaps ſooner than they would otherwiſe have aſſaulted the houſe, and was immediately ſeized, and one or two of her children who followed her. Her huſband being alarmed, ſecured the door before they could enter, and with his eldeſt daughter, about twelve years old, ſtood upon his defence, repeatedly firing wherever they attempted to enter, and at the ſame time calling earneſtly to his neighbors for help; but the people in the ſeveral garriſoned houſes near, apprehending from the noiſe and inceſſant firing, the number of the enemy to be greater than they were and expecting every moment to be attacked themſelves, did not venture to come to his aſſiſtance. Having for ſome time bravely withſtood ſuch unequal force, he was at laſt killed by their random ſhots through the houſe, which they then broke open, and killed his daughter. They ſcalped him, and cut off his daughter's head, either through haſte, or probably being enraged againſt her, on account of the aſſiſtance ſhe had afforded her father in their defence, which evidently appeared by her hands being ſoiled with powder. His wife and two children, a ſon and a daughter, they carried to Canada: The woman was redeemed in a few years. The ſon was adopted by the Indians, and lived with them all his days, he came into Pennycook with the Indians after the peace, and expreſſed to ſome people with whom he converſed, much reſentment againſt his uncle Samuel Rawlins, on ſuppoſing he had detained from his mother ſome property left by his father, but manifeſted no deſire of returning to Newmarket again. The daughter married with a Frenchman, and when ſhe was near ſixty years old, returned with her huſband to her native place, in expectation of recovering the patrimony ſhe conceived was left at the death of her father: But the eſtate having been ſold by her grandfather Taylor's adminiſtrator, they were diſappointed, and after a year or two went back to Canada.'

This account was collected from ſome of the ſurviving ſufferers, and other aged perſons who were witneſſes of the ſcene, by Wentworth Cheſwell, Eſq. of Newmarket.

setting his beaver traps in the woods. Soon after they appeared at Kingston, where they took Peter Colcord and Ephraim Stevens, and two children of Ebenezer Stevens. They were pursued by scouts from Kingston and Londonderry, but in vain. Colcord made his escape in about six months, and received a gratuity of ten pounds from the Assembly, for his 'courage and ingenuity, and for the 'account he gave of the proceedings of the 'enemy.' 1724. May 16. MS of Rev. Ward Clark. Assemby Records.

On a sabbath day they ambushed the road at Oyster River, and killed George Chesley, and mortally wounded Elizabeth Burnham, as they were returning together from public worship. In a few days more, five Indians took Thomas Smith and John Carr at Chester; and after carrying them about thirty miles, bound them and lay down to sleep; the captives escaped, and in three days arrived safe at a garrison in Londonderry. May 24. Penhallow & Hugh Adams. June 2. New-England Courant.

The settlements at Oyster River being very much exposed; a company of volunteers under the command of Abraham Benwick, who went out on the encouragement offered by the government for scalps, were about marching to make discoveries. It happened that Moses Davis, and his son of the same name, being at work in their corn field, went to a brook to drink, where they discovered three Indian packs. They immediately gave notice of this discovery to the volunteer company, and went before to guide them to the spot. The Indians had placed themselves in ambush; and the unhappy father and son were both killed. The company then fired, killed one and wounded two others, who June 10. Penhallow, p. 101.

1724. made their eſcape, though they were purſued and tracked by their blood to a conſiderable diſtance. The ſlain Indian was a perſon of diſtinction, and wore a kind of coronet of ſcarlet dyed fur, with an appendage of four ſmall bells, by the ſound of which the others might follow him through the thickets. His hair was remarkably ſoft and fine ; and he had about him a devotional book and a muſter-roll of one hundred and eighty Indians ; from which circumſtances it was ſuppoſed that he was a natural ſon of the Jeſuit Ralle, by an Indian woman who had ſerved him as a laundreſs. His ſcalp was preſented to the Lieutenant Governor in Council, by Robert Burnham, and the promiſed bounty was paid to Capt. Francis Matthews, in truſt for the company.

Hugh Adams's MS.

Aſſembly Records June 12.

Within the town of Dover were many families of Quakers ; who, ſcrupling the lawfulneſs of war, could not be perſuaded to uſe any means for their defence ; though equally expoſed with their neighbours to an enemy who made no diſtinction between them. One of theſe people, Ebenezer Downs, was taken by the Indians, and was groſsly inſulted and abuſed by them, becauſe he refuſed to dance as the other priſoners did, for the diverſion of their ſavage captors. Another of them, John Hanſon, who lived on the outſide of the town, in a remote ſituation, could not be perſuaded to remove to a garriſon, though he had a large family of children. A party of thirteen Indians, called French Mohawks, had marked his houſe for their prey ; and lay ſeveral days in ambuſh, waiting for an opportunity to aſſault it. While Hanſon

with his eldeſt daughter were gone to attend the weekly meeting of friends, and his two eldeſt ſons were at work in a meadow at ſome diſtance; the Indians entered the houſe, killed and ſcalped two ſmall children, and took his wife, with her infant of fourteen days old, her nurſe, two daughters and a ſon, and after rifling the houſe carried them off. This was done ſo ſuddenly and ſecretly, that the firſt perſon who diſcovered it was the eldeſt daughter at her return from the meeting before her father. Seeing the two children dead at the door, ſhe gave a ſhriek of diſtreſs, which was diſtinctly heard by her mother, then in the hands of the enemy among the buſhes, and by her brothers in the meadow. The people being alarmed, went in purſuit; but the Indians cautiouſly avoiding all paths, went off with their captives undiſcovered. After this diſaſter had befallen his family, Hanſon removed the remainder of them to the houſe of his brother; who, though of the ſame religious perſuaſion; yet had a number of luſty ſons, and always kept his fire-arms in good order, for the purpoſe of ſhooting game.* 1724. June 27.

Theſe and other inſolencies of the enemy being daily perpetrated on the frontiers, cauſed the governments to reſolve on an expe-

* This account is given as collected from the information of the family. A narrative of their diſtreſſes is in print. The woman, though of a tender conſtitution, had a firm and vigorous mind, and paſſed through the various hardſhips of an Indian captivity, with much reſolution and patience. When her milk faile!, ſhe ſupported her infant with water, which ſhe warmed in her mouth, and dropped on her breaſt, till the ſquaws taught her to beat the kernel of walnuts and boil it with bruiſed corn, which proved a nouriſhing food for her babe. They were all ſold to the French in Canada. Hanſon went the next ſpring and redeemed his wife, the three younger children and the nurſe but he could not obtain the elder daughter of ſeventeen years old, though he ſaw and converſed with her. He alſo redeemed Ebenezer Downs. He made a ſecond attempt in 1727, but died at Crown-point, on his way to Canada. The girl was married to a Frenchman, and never returned.

1724. dition to Norridgwog. The Captains Moulton and Harman, both of York, each at the head of a company of one hundred men, executed their orders with great addreſs. They completely inveſted and ſurpriſed that village; killed the obnoxious Jeſuit with about eighty of his Indians; recovered three captives; deſtroyed the chapel, and brought away the plate and furniture of the altar, and the devotional flag, as trophies of their victory. Ralle was then in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and had reſided in his miſſion at Norridgwog twenty-ſix years; having before ſpent ſix years in travelling among the Indian nations, in the interior parts of America.

August 12. Hutchinſon ſi. 309. New-England Courant. MS. of Hugh Adams.

The parties of Indians who were abroad, continued to ravage the frontiers. Two men being miſſing from Dunſtable, a ſcout of eleven went in queſt of them; they were fired upon by thirty of the enemy, and nine of them were killed: The other two made their eſcape, though one of them was badly wounded. Afterward another company fell into their ambuſh and engaged them; but the enemy being ſuperior in number overpowered them, killed one and wounded four, the reſt retreated. At Kingſton, Jabez Colman and his ſon Joſeph, were killed as they were at work in their field. The ſucceſs of the forces at Norridgwog and the large premium offered for ſcalps, having induced ſeveral volunteer companies to go out, they viſited one after another of the Indian villages, but found them deſerted. The fate of Norridgwog had ſtruck ſuch a terror into them, that they did not think themſelves ſafe at any of their former places of abode, and occupied them

Sept. 5. New-England Courant. Penhallow, page 106. Sept. 7.

as reſting places only, when they were ſcout- 1724.
ing or hunting.

One of theſe volunteer companies, under the command of Capt. John Lovewell of Dunſtable, was greatly diſtinguiſhed, firſt by their ſucceſs and afterward by their misfortunes. This company conſiſted of thirty; at their firſt excurſion to the northward of Winipiſeogee lake, they diſcovered an Indian wigwam in which were a man and a boy. They killed and ſcalped the man and brought the boy alive to Boſton, where they received the reward, promiſed by law, and a handſome gratuity beſides. Penhallow, page 107. Dec. 19.

By this ſucceſs his company was augmented to ſeventy. They marched again, and viſiting the place where they had killed the Indian, found his body as they had left it two months before. Their proviſion falling ſhort, thirty of them were diſmiſſed by lot and returned. The remaining forty continued their march till they diſcovered a track, which they followed till they ſaw a ſmoke juſt before ſunſet, by which they judged that the enemy were encamped for the night. They kept themſelves concealed till after midnight; when they ſilently advanced, and diſcovered ten Indians aſleep, round a fire, by the ſide of a frozen pond. Lovewell now determined to make ſure work; and placing his men conveniently, ordered part of them to fire, five at once, as quick after each other as poſſible, and another part to reſerve their fire: He gave the ſignal, by firing his own gun, which killed two of them; the men firing according to order, killed five more on the ſpot; the other three ſtarting up from their N. England Courant. 1725. MS of Hugh Adams. Feb. 29,

1725. sleep, two of them were immediately shot dead by the reserve; the other, though wounded, attempted to escape by crossing the pond, but was seized by a dog and held fast till they killed him. Thus in a few minutes the whole company was destroyed, and some attempt against the frontiers of New-Hampshire prevented; for these Indians were marching from Canada, well furnished with new guns, and plenty of ammunition; they had also a number of spare blankets, mockasseens and snow-shoes for the accommodation of the prisoners whom they expected to take, and were within two days march of the frontiers. The pond where this exploit was performed is at the head of a branch of Salmon-fall River, in the township of Wakefield, and has ever since borne the name of Lovewell's pond. The action is spoken of by elderly people, at this distance of time, with an air of exultation; and considering the extreme difficulty of finding and attacking Indians in the woods, and the judicious manner in which they were so completely surprised, it was a capital exploit.

Penhallow, page 110.

The brave company, with the ten scalps stretched on hoops, and elevated on poles, entered Dover in triumph, and proceeded thence to Boston; where they received the bounty of one hundred pounds for each, out of the public treasury.

Feb. 24.

March 9.

Encouraged by this success, Lovewell marched a third time; intending to attack the villages of Pigwacket, on the upper part of the river Saco, which had been the residence of a formidable tribe, and which they still occasionally inhabited. His company at this

April 16.

Symmes's Memoirs.

time consisted of forty-six, including a chaplain and surgeon: Two of them proving lame, returned: Another falling sick, they halted and built a stockade fort on the west side of great Ossapy pond; partly for the accommodation of the sick man, and partly for a place of retreat in case of any misfortune. Here the surgeon was left with the sick man, and eight of the company for a guard. The number was now reduced to thirty-four. Pursuing their march to the northward, they came to a pond, about twenty-two* miles distant from the fort, and encamped by the side of it. Eearly the next morning, while at their devotions, they heard the report of a gun, and discovered a single Indian, standing on a point of land, which runs into the pond, more than a mile distant. They had been alarmed the preceding night by noises round their camp, which they imagined were made by indians, and this opinion was now strengthened. They suspected that the Indian was placed there to decoy them, and that a body of the enemy was in their front. A consultation being held, they determined to march forward, and by encompassing the pond, to gain the place where the Indian stood; and that they might be ready for action, they disencumbered themselves of their packs, and left them, without a guard, at the northeast end of the pond, in a pitch-pine plain, where the trees were thin and the brakes, at that time of the year, small. It happened that Lovewell's march had crossed a carrying-place, by which two parties of Indians, con-

1725. May 8.

* The printed accounts say FOURTY; it is probable that the march was circuitous.

1725. fifting of forty one men, commanded by Paugus and Wahwa, who had been fcouting down Saco river, were returning to the lower village of Pigwacket, diftant about a mile and a half from this pond. Having fallen on his track, they followed it till they came to the packs, which they removed ; and counting them, found the number of his men to be lefs than their own : They therefore placed themfelves in ambufh, to attack them on their return. The Indian who had ftood on the point, and was returning to the village, by another path, met them, and received their fire, which he returned, and wounded Lovewell and another with fmall fhot. Lieutenant Wyman firing again, killed him, and they took his fcalp.* Seeing no other enemy, they returned to the place where they had left their packs, and while they were looking for them, the Indians rofe and ran toward them with a horrid yelling. A fmart firing commenced on both fides, it being now about ten of the clock. Captain Lovewell and eight more were killed on the fpot. Lieutenant Farwell and two others were wounded : Several of the Indians fell ; but, being fuperior in number, they endeavoured to furround the party, who, perceiving their in-

* This Indian has been celebrated as a hero, and ranked with the Roman Curtius, who devoted himfelf to death to fave his country. (See Hutchinfon's hiftory. vol. II, page 315.)

Having been on the fpot where this celebrated action happened, and having converfed with perfons who were acquainted with the Indians of Pigwacket, before and after this battle ; I am convinced that there is no foundation for the idea that he was placed there as a decoy ; and that he had no claim to the character of a hero. The point on which he ftood is a noted fifhing place ; the gun which alarmed Lovewell's company was fired at a flock of ducks ; and when they met him he was returning home with his game and two fowling pieces. The village was fituated at the edge of the meadow, on Saco river ; which here forms a large bend. The remains of the ftockades were found by the firft fettlers, forty years afterward. The pond is in the townfhip of Frieburg,

tention, retreated; hoping to be ſheltered by a point of rocks which ran into the pond, and a few large pine trees ſtanding on a ſandy beech. In this forlorn place they took their ſtation. On their right was the mouth of a brook, at that time unfordable; on their left was the rocky point; their front was partly covered by a deep bog and partly uncovered, and the pond was in their rear. The enemy galled them in front and flank, and had them ſo completely in their power, that had they made a prudent uſe of their advantage, the whole company muſt either have been killed, or obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; being deſtitute of a mouthful of ſuſtenance, and an eſcape being impracticable. Under the conduct of Lieutenant Wyman they kept up their fire, and ſhewed a reſolute countenance, all the remainder of the day; during which their chaplain, Jonathan Frie, Enſign Robbins, and one more, were mortally wounded. The Indians invited them to ſurrender, by holding up ropes to them, and endeavored to intimidate them by their hideous yells; but they determined to die rather than yield; and by their well directed fire, the number of the ſavages was thinned, and their cries became fainter, till, juſt before night, they quitted their advantageous ground, carrying off their killed and wounded, and leaving the dead bodies of Lovewell and his men unſcalped. The ſhattered remnant of this brave company, collecting themſelves together, found three of their number unable to move from the ſpot, eleven wounded but able to march, and nine who had received no hurt. It was melan- 1725.

1725. choly to leave their dying companions behind, but there was no poſſibility of removing them. One of them, enſign Robbins, deſired them to lay his gun by him charged, that if the Indians ſhould return before his death he might be able to kill one more. After the riſing of the moon, they quitted the fatal ſpot, and directed their march toward the fort, where the ſurgeon and guard had been left. To their great ſurpriſe they found it deſerted. In the beginning of the action, one man, (whoſe name has not been thought worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity) quitted the field, and fled to the fort; where, in the ſtyle of Job's meſſengers, he informed them of Lovewell's death, and the defeat of the whole company; upon which they made the beſt of their way home; leaving a quantity of bread and pork, which was a ſeaſonable relief to the retreating ſurvivors. From this place they endeavoured to get home. Lieutenant Farwell and the chaplain, who had the journal of the march in his pocket, and one more, periſhed in the woods, for want of dreſſing for their wounds. The others, after enduring the moſt ſevere hardſhips, came in one after another, and were not only received with joy, but were recompenſed for their valor, and ſufferings; and a generous proviſion was made for the widows and children of the ſlain.

A party from the frontiers of New-Hampſhire, were ordered out to bury the dead; but by ſome miſtake did not reach the place of action. Colonel Tyng, with a company from Dunſtable, went to the ſpot, and having found the bodies of twelve, buried them, and carv-

ed their names on the trees where the battle was fought. At a little diſtance he found three Indian graves, which he opened; one of the bodies was known to be their warrior Paugus. He alſo obſerved tracks of blood, on the ground, to a great diſtance from the ſcene of action. It was remarked that a week before this engagement happened, it had been reported in Portſmouth, at the diſtance of eighty mile, with but little variation from the truth. Such incidents were not uncommon, and could ſcarcely deſerve notice, if they did not indicate that a taſte for the marvellous was not extinguiſhed in the minds of the moſt ſober and rational. 1725. Penhallows's Indian wars.

This was one of the moſt fierce and obſtinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. They had not only the advantage of numbers, but of placing themſelves in ambuſh, and waiting with deliberation the moment of attack. Theſe circumſtances gave them a degree of ardor and impetuoſity. Lovewell and his men, though diſappointed of meeting the enemy in their front, expected and determined to fight. The fall of their commander, and more than one quarter of their number, in the firſt onſet, was greatly diſcouraging; but they knew that the ſituation to which they were reduced, and their diſtance from the frontiers, cut off all hope of ſafety from flight. In theſe circumſtances, prudence as well as valor dictated a continuance of the engagement, and a refuſal to ſurrender; until the enemy, awed by their brave reſiſtance, and weakened by their own loſs, yielded them the honor of the field. After

1725. this encounter the Indians reſided no more at Pigwacket, till the peace.*

The conduct of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, was ſo flagrant a breach of the treaty of peace, ſubſiſting between the Crowns of England and France, that it was thought, a ſpirited remonſtrance might make him aſhamed, and produce ſome beneficial effects. With this view, the General Court of Maſſachuſetts propoſed to the Colonies of New-York, Connecticut, Rhodeiſland and New-Hampſhire, to join in ſending Commiſſioners to Canada on this errand. New-Hampſhire was the only one which conſented; and Theodore Atkinſon was appointed on their part, to join with William Dudley and ſamuel Thaxter on the part of Maſſachuſets.§

The inſtructions which they received from the Lieutenant Governors, Dummer and Wentworth, by advice of the Council and Aſſembly of each Province, were nearly ſimilar. They were to demand of the French Governor, reſtitution of the captives who had been carried into Canada; to remonſtrate to him on his injuſtice and breach of friendſhip, in countenancing the Indians in their hoſtilities againſt the people of New England; to inſiſt on his withdrawing his aſſiſtance for the future; and to obſerve to him, that if in the farther proſecution of the war, our Indian

Maſſachuſetts and N. Hampſhire Rec.

* This account of Lovewell's battle is collected from the authorities cited in the margin, and from the verbal information of aged and intelligent perſons. The names of the dead, on the trees, and the holes where balls had entered and been cut out, were plainly viſible, when I was on the ſpot in 1784. The trees had the appearance of being very old, and one of them was fallen.

§ Mr. Hutchinſon in his hiſtory, has not ſaid a word reſpecting this embaſſy.

allies, ſhould in their purſuit of the enemy commit hoſtilities againſt the French, the blame would be entirely chargable to himſelf. If the French Governor or the Indians, ſhould make any overtures for peace, they were empowered to give them paſſports, to come either to Boſton or Portsmouth, for that purpoſe, and to return; but they were not to enter into any treaty with them. The commiſſioners were alſo furniſhed with the original letters of Vaudreuil to the Governors of New-England, and to the Jeſuit Rallè, and with copies of the ſeveral treaties which had been made with the Indians. The gentlemen went by the way of Albany, and over the lakes, on the ice, to Montreal, where they arrived after a tedious and dangerous journey. 1725. Jan. 20. March 2.

The Marquis, who happened to be at Montreal, received and entertained them with much politeneſs. Having delivered their letters, and produced their commiſſions, they preſented their remonſtrance in writing, and made the ſeveral demands agreeably to their inſtructions; uſing this among other arguments, 'Thoſe Indians dwell either in the dominions 'of the King of Great-Britain, or in the ter-'ritories of the French King: If in the French 'King's dominions, the violation of the peace 'is very flagrant, they then being his ſub-'jects; but if they are ſubjects of the Britiſh 'Crown, then much more is it a breach of 'the peace, to excite a rebellion among the 'ſubjects of his Majeſty of Great-Britain.' Atkinſon's MS. Journal.

The Governor gave them no written anſwer; but denied that the Abenaquis were under his government, and that he had either

1725. encouraged or ſupplied them for the purpoſe of War. He ſaid that he conſidered them as an independent nation, and that the war was undertaken by them, in defence of their lands, which had been invaded by the people of New-England. The commiſſioners in reply, informed him, that the lands for which the Indians had quarrelled, were fairly purchaſed of their anceſtors, and had been for many years inhabited by the Engliſh. They produced his own letters to the Governors of New-England, in which he had (inconſiſtently, and perhaps inadvertently) ſtyled theſe Indians 'ſubjects of the King of France.' They alſo alleged the ſeveral treaties held with them as evidence that they had acknowledged themſelves ſubjects of the Britiſh Crown; and, to his great mortification, they alſo produced his own original letters to the Jeſuit Rallè, which had been taken at Norridgwog, in which the evidence of his aſſiſting and encouraging them in the war was too flagrant to admit of palliation. Farther to ſtrengthen this part of their argument, they preſented to the Governor, a Mohawk whom they had met with at Montreal, who, according to his own voluntary acknowledgment, had been ſupplied by the Governor with arms, ammunition and proviſion to engage in the war, and had killed one man and taken another whom he had ſold in Canada.

In addition to what was urged by the Commiſſioners in general; Mr. Atkinſon, on the part of New-Hampſhire, entered into a particular remonſtrance; alleging that the Indians had no cauſe of controverſy with that Province, the lands in queſtion being out of

their claim. To this the Governor anſwered, 1725.
that New-Hampſhire was a part of the ſame nation, and the Indians could make no diſtinction. Atkinſon aſked him why they did not for the ſame reaſon make war on the people of Albany? The Governor anſwered, 'The people of Albany have ſent a meſſage 'to pray me to reſtrain the ſavages from mo-'leſting them; in a manner very different 'from your demands:' To which Atkinſon with equal ſpirit replied, 'Your Lordſhip 'then is the right perſon, for our Govern-'ments to apply to, if the Indians are ſubject 'to your orders.'

Finding himſelf thus cloſely preſſed, he promiſed to do what lay in his power to bring them to an accommodation, and to reſtore thoſe captives who were in the hands of the French, on the payment of what they had coſt; and he engaged to ſee that no unreaſonable demands ſhould be made by the perſons who held them in ſervitude; as to thoſe who ſtill remained in the hands of the Indians, he ſaid, he had no power over them, and could not engage for their redemption. He complained in his turn, of the Governor of New-York, for building a fort on the river Onondago, and ſaid, that he ſhould look upon that proceeding as a breach of the treaty of peace; and he boaſted that he had the five nations of the Iroquois ſo much under his influence, that he could at any time, cauſe them to make war upon the ſubjects of Great-Britain.

The Commiſſioners employed themſelves very diligently in their inquiries reſpecting the captives, and in ſettling the terms of their

1725. redemption. They ſucceeded in effecting the ranſom of ſixteen, and engaging for ten others. The Governor obliged the French, who held them, to abate of their demands; but after all, they were paid for at an exorbitant rate. He was extremely deſirous, that the gentlemen ſhould have an interview with the Indians, who were at war; and for this purpoſe, ſent for a number of them from the village of St. Francis, and kept them concealed in Montreal. The Commiſſioners had repeatedly told him, that they had no power to treat with them, and that they would not ſpeak to them unleſs they ſhould deſire peace. At his requeſt, the chiefs of the Nipiſſins viſited the Commiſſioners, and ſaid that they diſapproved the war which their children the Abenaquis had made, and would perſuade them to aſk for peace. After a variety of manœuvres, the Governor at length promiſed the Commiſſioners, that if they would conſent to meet the Indians at his houſe, they ſhould ſpeak firſt. This aſſurance produced an interview; and the Indians aſked the commiſſioners whether they would make propoſals of peace? they anſwered, No. The Indians then propoſed, that 'if the Engliſh 'would demoliſh all their forts, and remove 'one mile weſtward of Saco river; if they 'would rebuild their church at Norridgwog, 'and *reſtore to them their prieſt*, they would be 'brothers again.' The Commiſſioners told them that they had no warrant to treat with them; but if they were diſpoſed for peace, they ſhould have ſafe conduct to and from Boſton or Portſmouth; and the Governor promiſed to ſend his ſon with them to ſee juſ-

tice done. They anſwered, that 'this was 1725.
'the only place to conclude peace, as the na-
'tions were near and could readily attend.'
The Governor would have had them recede
from their propoſals, which he ſaid were un-
reaſonable, and make others; but father Le
Chaſe, a Jeſuit, being preſent, and acting as
interpreter for the Indians, embarraſſed the
matter ſo much that nothing more was pro-
poſed. It was obſerved by the commiſſion-
ers, that when they converſed with the Gov-
ernor alone, they found him more candid and
open to conviction, than when Le Chaſe, or
any other Jeſuit was preſent; and, through
the whole of their negociation, it evidently
appeared, that the Governor himſelf, as well
as the Indians, were ſubject to the powerful
influence of theſe eccleſiaſtics; of whom there
was a ſeminary in Canada, under the direc-
tion of the Abbe de Belmont.

Having completed their buſineſs, and the
rivers and lakes being clear of ice, the Com-
miſſioners took their leave of the Governor,
and ſet out on their return, with the redeem-
ed captives, and a guard of ſoldiers, which
the Governor ordered to attend them, as far
as Crown-point. They went down the river
St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Sorel, then
up that river to Chamblee, and through the
lakes to fort Nicholſon. After a pleaſant
paſſage, of ſeven days, they arrived at Albany. May 6.

Here they found Commiſſioners of Indian
affairs for the Province of New-York, to whom
they communicated the obſervations which
they had made in Canada, and what the Mar-
quis de Vaudreuil had ſaid reſpecting the five
nations, and the fort at Onandago. There

1725. being a deputation from theſe nations at Albany, they held a conference with them, and gave them belts; requeſting their aſſiſtance in eſtabliſhing a peace with the Abenaquis. From this place Mr. Atkinſon wrote to M. Cavanielle, ſon of the Marquis, acknowledging the polite reception the Commiſſioners had met with from the family; ſubjoining a copy of the information which they had given to the Commiſſioners of New-York; and promiſing, that a due repreſentation ſhould be made, to the Kings of England and France, on the ſubject of their negociation.

The report of the Commiſſioners being laid before the Aſſemblies of Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire, it was determined to proſecute the war with vigor. Orders were iſſued for the defence and ſupply of the frontiers, and for the encouragement of ranging parties, both volunteers and militia. A petition was ſent to the King, complaining of the French Governor, and deſiring that orders might be given to the other Colonies of New-England, and to New-York, to furniſh their quotas of aſſiſtance, in the further proſecution of the war; and letters were written to the Governor of New-York, requeſting that ſuch of the hoſtile Indians as ſhould reſort to Albany, might be ſeized and ſecured.

Aſſembly Records.

The good effects of this miſſion to Canada were ſoon viſible. One of the Indian hoſtages who had been detained at Boſton through the whole war, together with one who had been taken, were allowed on their parole, to viſit their countrymen; and they returned with a requeſt for peace. Commiſſioners from both Provinces went to St. George's; where

a conference was held, which ended in a pro- 1725.
poſal for a farther treaty at Boſton. In the mean time, ſome of the enemy were diſpoſed for further miſchief. Thoſe who had been concerned in taking Hanſon's family at Dover, in a ſhort time after their redemption and return, came down with a deſign to take them again, as they had threatened them before they left Canada. When they had come near Sept. 15.
the houſe, they obſerved ſome people at work in a neighbouring field, by which it was neceſſary for them to paſs, both in going and returning. This obliged them to alter their purpoſe, and conceal themſelves in a barn, till they were ready to attack them. Two women paſſed by the barn, while they were in it, and had juſt reached the garriſon as the guns were fired. They ſhot Benjamin Evans dead on the ſpot; wounded William Evans and cut his throat; John Evans received a ſlight wound in the breaſt, which bleeding plentifully, deceived them, and thinking him dead, they ſtripped and ſcalped him: He bore the painful operation without diſcovering any ſigns of life, though all the time in his perfect ſenſes, and continued in the feigned appearance of death, till they had turned him over, and ſtruck him ſeveral blows with their guns, and left him for dead. After they were gone off he roſe and walked, naked and bloody, toward the garriſon; but on meeting his friends by the way dropped, fainting on the ground, and being covered with a blanket was conveyed to the houſe. He recovered and lived fifty years. A purſuit was made after the enemy, but they got off undiſcovered, carrying with them Benjamin Evans, junior,

1725. a lad of thirteen years old, to Canada, whence he was redeemed as uſual by a charitable collection.

This was the laſt effort of the enemy in New-Hampſhire. In three months, the treaty which they deſired was held at Boſton, and the next ſpring ratified at Falmouth. A peace was concluded in the uſual form; which was followed by reſtraining all private traffic with the Indians, and eſtabliſhing truck-houſes in convenient places, where they were ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life, on the moſt advantageous terms. Though the governments on the whole, were loſers by the trade, yet it was a more honorable way of preſerving the peace, than if an acknowledgment had been made to the Indians in any other manner.

Dec. 15.

Hutchinſon Hiſt. 318.

None of the other Colonies of New England bore any ſhare in the expenſes or calamities of this war; and New-Hampſhire did not ſuffer ſo much as in former wars; partly by reaſon of the more extended frontier of Maſſachuſetts, both on the eaſtern and weſtern parts, againſt the former of which the enemy directed their greateſt fury; and partly by reaſon of the ſucceſs of the ranging parties, who conſtantly traverſed the woods as far northward as the White Mountains. The militia at this time was completely trained for active ſervice; every man of forty years of age having ſeen more than twenty years of war. They had been uſed to handle their arms from the age of childhood, and moſt of them, by long practice, had become excellent markſmen, and good hunters. They were well acquainted with the lurking place

of the enemy; and poſſeſſed a degree of hardineſs and intrepidity, which can be acquired only by the habitude of thoſe ſcenes of danger and fatigue, to which they were daily expoſed. They had alſo imbibed from their infancy a ſtrong antipathy to the ſavage natives; which was ſtrengthened by repeated horrors of blood and deſolation, and not obliterated by the intercourſe which they had with them in time of peace. As the Indians frequently reſorted to the frontier towns in time of ſcarcity, it was common for them to viſit the families whom they had injured in war; to recount the circumſtances of death and torture which had been practiſed on their friends; and when provoked or intoxicated, to threaten a repetition of ſuch inſults in future wars. To bear ſuch treatment required more than human patience; and it is not improbable that ſecret murders were ſometimes the conſequence of theſe harſh provocations. Certain it is, that when any perſon was arreſted, for killing an Indian in time of peace, he was either forcibly reſcued from the hands of juſtice, or if brought to trial, invariably acquitted; it being impoſſible to impannel a jury ſome of whom had not ſuffered by the Indians, either in their perſons or families. 1725.

CHAP. XV.

WENTWORTH's administration continued. BURNET's short administration. BELCHER succeeds him. WENTWORTH's death and character.

DURING the war, the Lieutenant Governor had managed the executive department with much prudence; the people were satisfied with his administration, and entertained an affection for him, which was expressed not only by words, but by frequent
1726. grants of money, in the General Assembly.
January 5. When he returned from Boston, where the treaty of peace was concluded, they presented to him an address of congratulation, and told him that 'his absence had seemed long; but 'the service he had done them filled their
General Court Records. 'hearts with satisfaction.' This address was followed by a grant of one hundred pounds. He had, just before, consented to an emission of two thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be paid, one half in the year 1735, and the other half in 1736. An excise was laid for three years, and was farmed for three hundred pounds.

The divisional line between the Provinces of New-Hampshire and Massachusetts was yet unsettled, and in addition to the usual disadvantages occasioned by this long neglect, a new one arose. By the construction which Massachusetts put on their charter, all the lands three miles northward of the river Merrimack were within their limits. On this principle, a grant had formerly been made to Governor Endicot, of some lands at

Penacook; which had been the ſeat of a numerous and powerful tribe of Indians. The quality of the land at that place invited the attention of adventurers from Andover, Bradford and Haverhill; to whom a grant was made of a townſhip, ſeven miles ſquare; comprehending the lands on both ſides of the Merrimack, extending ſouthwardly from the branch called Contoocook. This grant awakened the attention of others; and a motion was made in the Maſſachuſetts Aſſembly, for a line of townſhips, to extend from Dunſtable on Merrimack, to Northfield on Connecticut river; but the motion was not immediately adopted. The Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire was alarmed. Newman, their agent, had been a long time at the Britiſh Court, ſoliciting the ſettlement of the line, and a ſupply of military ſtores for the fort. Freſh inſtructions were ſent to him to expedite the buſineſs, and to ſubmit the ſettlement of the line to the King. A committee was appointed to go to Penacook, to confer with a committee of Maſſachuſetts, then employed in laying out the lands, and to remonſtrate againſt their proceeding. A ſurvey of other lands near Winipiſeogee lake, was ordered; that it might be known, what number of townſhips could be laid out, independently of the Maſſachuſetts claim. On the other hand, the heirs of Allen renewed their endeavours, and one of them, John Hobby, petitioned the Aſſembly to compound with him for his claim to half the Province; but the only anſwer which he could obtain was that 'the Courts of law were competent to the de-'termination of titles,' and his petition was diſmiſſed.

1726.

Maſſachuſetts Rec.

Dec. 22.

N. Hampſhire Rec.

1726. Both Provinces became earneſtly engaged. Maſſachuſetts propoſed to New-Hampſhire the appointment of commiſſioners, to eſtabliſh the line. The New-Hampſhire Aſſembly refuſed, becauſe they had ſubmitted the caſe to the King. The Maſſachuſetts people, foreſeeing that the reſult of this application might prove unfavorable to their claim of juriſdiction, were ſolicitous to ſecure to themſelves the property of the lands in queſtion. Accordingly, the propoſed line of townſhips being ſurveyed, 'pretences were encouraged 'and even ſought after, to entitle perſons to 'be grantees.' The deſcendants of the officers and ſoldiers, who had been employed in expeditions againſt the Narraganſet Indians, and againſt Canada, in the preceding century, were admitted; and the ſurvivors of the late Captain Lovewell's company, with the heirs of the deceaſed, had a ſelect tract granted to them at Suncook. There was an appearance of gratitude in making theſe grants, and there would have been policy in it, had the grantees been able to comply with the conditions. New-Hampſhire followed the example, and made grants of the townſhips of Epſom, Chicheſter, Barnſtead, Canterbury, Gilmantown and Bow. All theſe, excepting the laſt, were undoubtedly within their limits; but the grant of Bow interfered with the grants which Maſſachuſetts had made, at Penacook and Suncook, and gave riſe to a litigation, tedious, expenſive, and of forty years continuance.

Hutchinſon H. 331.

Maſſachuſetts Rec.

1727. May 18 & 20.

Theſe tracts of land granted by both Provinces were too numerous and extenſive. It was impracticable to fulfil the conditions, on

which the grants were made. Had the ſame liberal policy prevailed here as in Pennſylvania, and had the importation of emigrants from abroad been encouraged, the country might have been ſoon filled with inhabitants; but the people of Londonderry were already looked upon with a jealous eye, and a farther intruſion of ſtrangers was feared, leſt they ſhould prove a burden and charge to the community. People could not be ſpared from the old towns. Penacook was almoſt the only ſettlement which was effected by emigrants from Maſſachuſetts. A ſmall beginning was made, by the New-Hampſhire proprietors, at Bow, on Suncook river; but the moſt of the intermediate country remained uncultivated for many years. Schemes of ſettlement were indeed continually forming; meetings of proprietors were frequently held, and an avaricious ſpirit of ſpeculating in landed property prevailed; but the real wealth and improvement of the country inſtead of being promoted were retarded. 1727.

On the death of King George I; the Aſſembly, which had ſubſiſted five years, was of courſe diſſolved; and writs for the election of another were iſſued in the name of George II. The long continuance of this Aſſembly was principally owing to the abſence of Governor Shute, in whoſe adminiſtration it commenced; and the uncertainty of his return or the appointment of a ſucceſſor. It had been deemed a grievance, and an attempt had been made in 1724 to limit the duration of Aſſemblies to three years, in conformity to the cuſtom of England. At the meeting of the new Aſſembly, the firſt N. Hampſhire Rec. Nov. 21. Dec. 15.

1727. buſineſs which they took up was to move for a triennial act. The Lieutenant Governor was diſpoſed to gratify them. Both Houſes agreed in framing an act for a triennial Aſſembly, in which the duration of the preſent Aſſembly was limited to three years (unleſs ſooner diſſolved by the commander in chief) writs were to iſſue fifteen days at leaſt, before a new election; the qualification of a repreſentative was declared to be a freehold eſtate of three hundred pounds value. The qualification of an elector was a real eſtate of fifty pounds, within the town or precinct where the election ſhould be made; but habitancy was not required in either caſe; the ſelectmen of the town, with the moderator of the meeting, were conſtituted judges of the qualifications of electors, ſaving an appeal to the Houſe of Repreſentatives. This act having been paſſed, in due form, received the royal approbation, and was the only act which could be called a conſtitution or form of Government, eſtabliſhed by the people of New-Hampſhire; all other parts of their government being founded on royal commiſſions and inſtructions. But this act was defective, in not determining by whom the writs ſhould be iſſued, and in not deſcribing the places from which Repreſentatives ſhould be called, either by name, extent or population. This defect gave birth to a long and bitter controverſy, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Edition of Laws in 1771, page 266.

The triennial act being paſſed, the Houſe were diſpoſed to make other alterations in the government. An appeal was allowed in all civil caſes from the inferior to the ſuperior court; if the matter in controverſy ex-

ceeded one hundred pounds, another appeal was allowed to the Governor and Council; and if it exceeded three hundred pounds, to the King in Council. The appeal to the Governor in Council was firſt eſtabliſhed by Cutt's commiſſion, and continued by ſubſequent commiſſions and inſtructions. In Queen Anne's time, it was complained of as a grievance, that the Governor and Council received appeals and decided cauſes, without taking an oath to do juſtice. An oath was then preſcribed and taken. The authority of this court had been recogniſed by ſeveral clauſes in the laws; but was diſreliſhed by many of the people; partly becauſe the judges who had before decided caſes, were generally members of the Council; partly becauſe no jury was admitted in this court of appeal; and partly becauſe no ſuch inſtitution was known in the neighbouring Province of Maſſachuſetts. The Houſe moved for a repeal of the ſeveral clauſes in the laws relative to this obnoxious court; the Council non-concurred their vote, and referred them to the royal inſtructions. The Houſe perſiſted in their endeavors, and the Council in their oppoſition. Both ſides grew warm, and there was no proſpect of an accommodation. The Lieutenant Governor put an end to the ſeſſion, and ſoon after diſſolved the Aſſembly by proclamation. 1727.

A new Aſſembly was called; the ſame perſons, with but two or three exceptions, were re-elected, and the ſame ſpirit appeared in all their tranſactions. They choſe for their ſpeaker Nathaniel Weare, who had been ſpeaker of the former Aſſembly, and having 1728.

1728. as uſual preſented him to the Lieutenant Governor, he negatived the choice. The Houſe deſired to know by what authority; he produced his commiſſion; nothing appeared in that, which ſatisfied them; and they adjourned from day to day without doing any buſineſs. After nine days they choſe another Speaker, Andrew Wiggin, and ſent up the vote, with a preamble, juſtifying their former choice. The Lieutenant Governor approved the Speaker, but diſapproved the preamble; and thus the controverſy cloſed, each ſide retaining their own opinion. The ſpeeches and meſſages from the chair, and the anſwers from the Houſe, during this ſeſſion, were filled with reproaches; the public buſineſs was conducted with ill humour, and the Houſe carried their oppoſition ſo far as to paſs a vote for addreſſing the King to annex the Province to Maſſachuſetts; to this vote the Council made no anſwer. But as a new Governor was expected, they agreed in appointing a committee of both Houſes to go to Boſton, and compliment him on his arrival.

The expected Governor was WILLIAM BURNET, ſon of the celebrated Biſhop of Sarum, whoſe name was dear to the people of New-England, as a ſteady and active friend to civil and religious liberty. Mr. Burnet was a man of good underſtanding and polite literature; fond of books and of the converſation of literary men; but an enemy to oſtentation and parade. He had been Governor of New-York and New-Jerſey, and quitted thoſe Provinces with reluctance, to make way for another perſon, for whom the Britiſh Miniſtry had to provide. Whilſt at

New-York, he was very popular, and his fame having reached New-England, the expectations of the people were much raiſed on the news of his appointment, to the Government of Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire. Lieutenant Governor Wentworth characteriſed him in one of his ſpeeches as 'a gentleman of 'known worth, having juſtly obtained an 'univerſal regard from all who have had *the* '*honor* to be under his government.' He was received with much parade at Boſton, whither the Lieutenant Governor of New-Hampſhire, with a committee of the Council and Aſſembly, went to compliment him on his arrival.* 1728. July 22.

Mr. Burnet had poſitive inſtructions from the crown to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of a permanent ſalary in both his Provinces. He began with Maſſachuſetts, and held a long controverſy with the General Court to no purpoſe. In New-Hampſhire, a precedent had been eſtabliſhed in the adminiſtration of Dudley, which was favourable to his views. Though ſome of the Aſſembly were averſe to a permanent ſalary; yet the Lieutenant Governor had ſo much intereſt with them, by virtue of having made them proprietors in the lately granted townſhips, that they were induced to conſent; on condition that he ſhould be Belcher's MS Letters

* Mr. Hutchinſon has repreſented Governor Burnet as a man of humour, and given an anecdote reſpecting his indifference to the cuſtom of ſaying grace at meals. The following ſtory of the ſame kind, perhaps will not be diſagreeable to the reader.

One of the committee, who went from Boſton, to meet him on the borders of Rhode-Iſland, and conduct him to the ſeat of government, was the facetious Col. Tailer. Burnet complained of the long graces which were ſaid by clergymen on the road, and aſked Tailer when they would ſhorten. He anſwered, 'The graces will increaſe in length, till you come to Boſ-'ton; after that they will ſhorten till you come to your government of 'New-Hampſhire, where your Excellency will find no grace at all.'

1729. allowed one third part of the ſalary, and they ſhould be diſcharged from all obligations to him. This bargain being concluded, the Houſe paſſed a vote, with which the Council concurred, to pay, 'Governor Burnet, for the 'term of three years, or during his adminiſ- 'iſtration, the ſum of two hundred pounds 'ſterling, or ſix hundred pounds in bills of 'credit; which ſum was to be in full of all 'demands from this Government, for his ſal- 'ary; and all expenſes in coming to, tarrying 'in, or going from this Province; and alſo 'for any allowance to be made to the Lieu- 'tenant Governor; and that the exciſe on 'liquors ſhould be appropriated to that uſe.' To this vote ſix of the Repreſentatives entered their diſſent.

May 9.

Journal of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

Sept. 7. The Governor came but once into New-Hampſhire. His death, which happened after a few months, was ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the ill effect, which his controverſy with Maſſachuſetts, and the diſappointment which he ſuffered, had on his nerves.

1730. When the death of Governor Burnet was known in England, the reſentment againſt the Province of Maſſachuſetts was very high, on account of their determined refuſal to fix a ſalary on the King's Governor. It was even propoſed, to reduce them to 'a more abſolute dependence on the crown;' but a ſpirit of moderation prevailed; and it was thought that Mr. JONATHAN BELCHER, then in England, being a native of the Province, and well acquainted with the temper of his countrymen would have more influence than a ſtranger, to carry the favorite point of a fixed ſalary. His appointment, as Governor of

Letters of Francis Wilkes, Agent.

New-Hampſhire, was merely an appendage to his other commiſſion. 1730.

Belcher was a merchant of large fortune and unblemiſhed reputation. He had ſpent ſix years in Europe; had been twice at the Court of Hanover, before the proteſtant ſucceſſion took place in the family of Brunſwick; and had received from the Princeſs Sophia, a rich golden medal. He was graceful in his perſon, elegant and polite in his manners; of a lofty and aſpiring diſpoſition; a ſteady, generous friend; a vindictive, but not implacable enemy. Frank and ſincere, he was extremely liberal in his cenſures, both in converſation and letters. Having a high ſenſe of the dignity of his commiſſion, he determined to ſupport it, even at the expenſe of his private fortune; the emoluments of office in both Provinces being inadequate to the ſtyle in which he choſe to live. Belcher's Letter to the Biſhop of Lincoln. MS.

Whilſt he was in England, and it was uncertain whether he would be appointed, or Shute would return, Wentworth wrote letters of compliment to both. Belcher knew nothing of the letter to Shute, till his arrival in America, and after he had made a viſit to New-Hampſhire, and had been entertained at the Houſe of the Lieutenant Governor. He was then informed, that Wentworth had written a letter to Shute, of the ſame tenor as that to himſelf. This he deemed an act of duplicity. How far it was ſo, cannot now be determined. The perſuaſion was ſo ſtrong in the mind of Belcher, that on his next viſit to Portſmouth, he refuſed an invitation to Wentworth's houſe. This was not the only way in which he manifeſted his diſpleaſure.

1730. When the affair of the ſalary came before the Aſſembly, he not only refuſed to make ſuch a compromiſe as Burnet had done; but obliged the Lieutenant Governor under his hand, to 'quit all claim to any part of the ſalary, and to acknowledge that he had no expectation from, or dependence on the Aſſembly, for any allowance, but that he depended wholly on the Governor.' The ſame ſalary was then voted, and in nearly the ſame words, as to his predeceſſor. He allowed the Lieutenant Governor, the fees and perquiſites only which aroſe from regiſters, certificates, licenſes and paſſes, amounting to about fifty pounds ſterling. Wentworth and his friends were diſappointed and diſguſted. He himſelf did not long ſurvive; being ſeized with a lethargic diſorder, he died within five months; but his family connexions reſented the affront, and drew a conſiderable party into their views. Benning Wentworth, his ſon, and Theodore Atkinſon, who had married his daughter, were at the head of the oppoſition. The latter was removed from his office of Collector of the Cuſtoms, to make room for Richard Wibird; the Naval Office was taken from him and given to Ellis Huſke; and the office of High Sheriff, which he had held, was divided between him and Eleazer Ruſſell. Other alterations were made, which greatly offended the friends of the late Lieutenant Governor; but Belcher, ſatisfied that his conduct was agreeable to his commiſſion and inſtructions, diſregarded his opponents and apprehended no danger from their reſentment. Atkinſon was a man of humour, and took occaſion to expreſs his diſguſt in a

Aug. 31.

Dec. 12. Ætat 59.

fingular manner. The Governor, who was fond of parade, had ordered a troop of horſe, to meet him on the road, and eſcort him to Portſmouth. The officers of government met him, and joined the cavalcade. Atkinſon was tardy; but when he appeared, having broken the Sheriff's wand, he held one half in his hand. Being chid by the Governor for not appearing ſooner, he begged his Excellency to excuſe him, becauſe he had but half a horſe to ride. 1730.

In addition to what has been obſerved, reſpecting Lieutenant Governor Wentworth; the following portrait of his character, by ſome contemporary friend, deſerves remembrance.

'He was born at Portſmouth of worthy 'parents, from whom he had a religious edu- 'cation. His inclination leading him to the 'ſea, he ſoon became a commander of note, 'and gave a laudable example to that order, 'by his ſober behaviour, and his conſtant 'care to uphold the worſhip of God in his 'ſhip. Wherever he came, by his diſcreet 'and obliging deportment, he gained the love 'and eſteem of thoſe with whom he converſed. New-England weekly Journal. Dec. 28.

'On his leaving the ſea, he had conſidera- 'ble buſineſs as a merchant, and always had 'the reputation of a fair and generous dealer.

'He has approved himſelf to the general 'acceptance of his Majeſty's good ſubjects 'throughout this Province, and under his 'mild adminiſtration, we enjoyed great qui- 'etneſs.

'He was a gentleman of good natural abil- 'ities, much improved by converſation; 'remarkably civil and kind to ſtrangers; re-

1730. 'ſpectful to the miniſters of the goſpel; a 'lover of good men of all denominations; 'compaſſionate and bountiful to the poor; 'courteous and affable to all; having a con-'ſtant regard to the duties of divine worſhip, 'in private and public, and paying a due 'deference to all the ſacred inſtitutions of 'Chriſt.

'He had ſixteen children, of whom four-'teen yet ſurvive him.'

CHAP. XVI.

Dunbar's Lieutenancy and enmity to Belcher. Efforts to settle the boundary lines. Diviſions. Riot. Trade. Epiſcopal Church. Throat diſtemper.

MR. WENTWORTH was ſucceeded in the Lieutenancy by DAVID DUNBAR, Eſquire, a native of Ireland and a reduced Colonel in the Britiſh ſervice; who was alſo deputed to be ſurveyor of the King's woods. This appointment was made by the recommendation of the Board of Trade; of which Colonel Bladen was an active member, who bore no good will to Governor Belcher. Dunbar had been commander of a fort at Pemaquid, which it was in contemplation to annex to Nova-Scotia. He had taken upon him to govern the few ſcattered people in that diſtrict, with a degree of rigor to which they could not eaſily ſubmit. This conduct had already opened a controverſy, between him and the Province of Maſſachuſetts; and it was very unfortunate for Belcher to have ſuch a perſon connected with both his governments. What were the merits, which recommended Dunbar to theſe ſtations, it is not eaſy at this time to determine; the only qualifications, which appear to have pleaded in his favor, were poverty and the friendſhp of men in power. He was an inſtrument of intrigue and diſaffection; and he no ſooner made his appearance in New-Hampſhire, than he joined the party who were in oppoſition to the Governor. Belcher perceived the advantage which his enemies would derive from 1731. June 24. Hutchinſon II. 224 379.

1731. this alliance, and made all the efforts in his power to diſplace him. In his letters to the miniſtry, to the Board of Trade, and to his friends in England, he continually repreſented him in the worſt light, and ſolicited his removal. It is not improbable, that his numerous letters of this kind, written in his uſual ſtyle, with great freedom and without any reſerve, might confirm the ſuſpicions, raiſed by the letters of his adverſaries, and induce the miniſtry to keep Dunbar in place, as a check upon Belcher, and to preſerve the balance of parties.

Belcher's MS. letters.

Within a few weeks after Dunbar's coming to Portſmouth, a complaint was drawn up againſt Belcher, and ſigned by fifteen perſons; alleging that his government was grievous, oppreſſive and arbitrary, and praying the King for his removal. This rouſed the Governor's friends, at the head of whom was Richard Waldron, the ſecretary, who drew up a counter addreſs, and procured an hundred names to be ſubſcribed. Both addreſſes reached England about the ſame time. Richard Partridge, Mr. Belcher's brother in law, in conjunction with his ſon Jonathan Belcher, then a ſtudent in the Temple, applied for a copy of the complaint againſt him, at the Plantation office, and obtained it; but could not get ſight of the letters which accompanied it, though, on the foundation of thoſe letters, a repreſentation had been made by the Board of Trade, to the King.

July 10.

MS. copies of Addreſſes.

Belcher's letters.

The only effect which Dunbar's letters had at that time, was to procure the appointment of Theodore Atkinſon, Benning Wentworth and Joſhua Peirce, to be Counſellors of New-

Hampſhire; and though Belcher remonſtrated to the Secretary of State againſt theſe appointments, and recommended other perſons in their room, he could not prevail, any farther than to delay the admiſſion of the two former for about two years; during which time, they were elected into the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and kept up the oppoſition there. The recommendations, which he made of other perſons, were duly attended to when vacancies happened; and thus the Council was compoſed of his friends, and his enemies. The civil officers, whom he appointed, were ſometimes ſuperſeded, by perſons recommended and ſent from England; and in one inſtance, a commiſſion for the naval office, in favor of a Mr. Reynolds, ſon of the Biſhop of Lincoln, was filled up in England, and ſent over with orders for him to ſign it; which he was obliged punctually to obey. 1731.

From the confidential letters of the leading men on both ſides, which have fallen into my hands in the courſe of my reſearches, the views of each party may plainly be ſeen; though they endeavored to conceal them from each other. The Governor and his friends had projected an union of New-Hampſhire with Maſſachuſetts; but were at a loſs by what means to bring it into effect. The moſt deſirable method would have been, an unanimity in the people of New-Hampſhire, in petitioning the Crown for it; but as this could not be had, the project was kept out of ſight, till ſome favorable opportunity ſhould preſent. Belcher's, Waldron's, Atkinſon's & Thomlinſon's letters MS.

The other party contemplated not only

1731. the continuance of a ſeparate government, but the appointment of a diſtinct Governor, who ſhould reſide in the Province, and have no connection with Maſſachuſetts. The greateſt obſtacle in their way, was the ſmallneſs and poverty of the Province, which was not able to ſupport a gentleman in the character of Governor. To remove this obſtacle, it was neceſſary to have the limits of territory, not only fixed, but enlarged. They were therefore zealous, in their attempts for this purpoſe; and had the addreſs to perſuade a majority of the people, that they would be gainers by the eſtabliſhment of the lines; that the lands would be granted to them and their children; and that the expenſe of obtaining the ſettlement would be ſo trifling, that each man's ſhare would not exceed the value of a pullet.

The Governor's friends were averſe to preſſing the ſettlement of the line; and their reaſons were theſe. The controverſy is either between the King and the ſubjects of his charter government of Maſſachuſetts; or elſe, between the heirs of Maſon or Allen and the people of Maſſachuſetts. If the controverſy be ſettled even in favor of New-Hampſhire, the lands which fall within the line, will be either the King's property, to be granted by his Governor and Council according to royal inſtructions; or elſe the property of the heirs of Maſon or Allen, to be diſpoſed of by them. On both ſuppoſitions, the people of New-Hampſhire can have no property in the lands, and therefore why ſhould they be zealous about the diviſion or tax themſelves to pay the expenſe of it?

The Governor, as obliged by his inſtructions, frequently urged the ſettlement of the lines in his ſpeeches, and declared, that the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire had done more toward effecting it, than that of Maſſachuſetts. A committee from both Provinces met at Newbury in the autumn of 1731, on this long conteſted affair; but the influence of that party in Maſſachuſetts, of which Eliſha Cooke was at the head, prevented an accommodation. Soon after this fruitleſs conference, the Repreſentatives of New-Hampſhire, of whom a majority was in favor of ſettling the line, determined no longer to treat with Maſſachuſetts; but to repreſent the matter to the King, and petition him to decide the controverſy. Newman's commiſſion, as agent, having expired, they choſe for this purpoſe, John Rindge, merchant, of Portſmouth, then bound on a voyage to London. The appointment of this gentleman was fortunate for them, not only as he had large connexions in England; but as he was capable of advancing money, to carry on the ſolicitation. The Council, a majority of which was in the oppoſite intereſt, did neither concur in the appointment, nor conſent to the petition.

1731. Sept. 21. Aſſembly Records, Oct. 7.

Mr. Rindge, on his arrival in England, petitioned the King in his own name, and in behalf of the Repreſentatives of New-Hampſhire, to eſtabliſh the boundaries of the Province; but his private affairs requiring his return to America, he did, agreeably to his inſtructions, leave the buſineſs in the hands of Capt. John Thomlinſon, merchant, of London; who was well known in New-Hamp-

1732. Feb. 28.

1732 ſhire, where he had frequently been in quality of a ſea commander. He was a gentleman of great penetration, induſtry and addreſs; and having fully entered into the views of Belcher's opponents, proſecuted the affair of the line, 'with ardor and diligence;' employing for his ſolicitor, Ferdinando John Parris; who being well ſupplied with money, was indefatigable in his attention. The petition was of courſe referred to the Lords of Trade, and Francis Wilks the agent of Maſſachuſetts, was ſerved with a copy to be ſent to his conſtituents.

Whilſt the matter of the line was pending on the other ſide of the Atlantic, the parties in New-Hampſhire maintained their oppoſition; and were on all occaſions vilifying and abuſing each other, eſpecially in their letters to their friends in England. On the one ſide, Belcher inceſſantly repreſented Dunbar, as the fomenter of oppoſition; as falſe, perfidious, malicious and revengeful; that he did no ſervice to the crown, nor to himſelf; but was 'a plague to the Governor and a 'deceiver of the people.' He was alſo very liberal in his reflections, on his other oppoſers. On the other ſide, they repreſented him as unfriendly to the royal intereſt; as obſtructing the ſettlement of the lines; conniving at the deſtruction of the King's timber, and partial to his other government, where all his intereſt lay; and that he had not even a freehold in New-Hampſhire. As an inſtance of his partiality, they alleged, that in almoſt every ſeſſion of the Aſſembly
1733. of Maſſachuſetts, he conſented to grants of the diſputed lands, to the people of that Prov-

ince ; by which means, their Aſſembly raiſ- 1733.
ed money, to enable their agent to protract the controverſy, that they might have opportunity to lay out more townſhips ; while at the ſame time, he rejected a ſupply bill of the New-Hampſhire Aſſembly, and diſſolved them, becauſe that in it, they had made an appropriation for their agent. The truth was, that the Council did not conſent to the bill, becauſe they had no hand in appointing the agent, and the bill never came before the Governor. The frequent diſſolution of Aſſemblies was another ſubject of complaint ; and in fact this meaſure never produced the deſired effect ; for the ſame perſons were generally re-elected, and no reconciling meaſures were adopted by either party.

The Governor frequently complained, in 1734.
his ſpeeches, that the public debts were not paid ; nor the fort, priſon, and other public buildings kept in repair ; becauſe of their failure in ſupplying the treaſury. The true reaſon of their not ſupplying it was, that they wanted emiſſions of paper money, to be drawn in, at diſtant periods ; to this the Governor could not conſent, being reſtrained by a royal inſtruction, as well as in principle oppoſed to all ſuch practices. But one emiſſion of paper was made in his adminiſtration ; and for its redemption a fund was eſtabliſhed in hemp, iron, and other productions of the country. When a number of merchants and others had combined to iſſue notes, to ſupply the place of a currency, he iſſued a proclamation againſt them ; and in his next ſpeech to the Aſſembly, condemned them in very ſevere terms. The Aſſembly

1734. endeavored to vindicate the character of the bills; but in a few days he diſſolved them, with a reprimand; charging them with trifling, with injuſtice and hypocriſy. It muſt be remembered, that his complaints of an empty treaſury were not occaſioned by any failure of his own ſalary, which was regularly paid out of the exciſe.

Belcher revived the idea of his predeceſſor Shute, which was alſo countenanced by his inſtructions, that he was virtually preſent in New-Hampſhire, when perſonally abſent, and attendidg his duty, in his other Province; and therefore that the Lieutenant Governor could do nothing but by his orders. Dunbar had no ſeat in the Council, and Shadrach Walton being ſenior member, by the Governor's order ſummoned them and preſided. He alſo held the command of the fort, by the Governor's commiſſion, granted paſſes for ſhips, and licenſes for marriage; and received and executed military orders, as occaſion required. The Lieutenant Governor conteſted this point; but could not prevail; and finding himſelf reduced to a ſtate of inſignificance, he retired in diſguſt, to his fort at Pemaquid; where he reſided almoſt two years. The Governor's friends gave out that he had abſconded for debt, and affected to triumph over the oppoſition, as poor and impotent; but their complaints, ſupported by their agent Thomlinſon, and the influence of Bladen at the Board of Trade, made an impreſſion there much to the diſadvantage of Mr. Belcher; though he had friends among the miniſtry and nobility; the principle of whom was Lord Townſend, by whoſe influence he had obtained his commiſſion.

After Dunbar's return to Portſmouth, the Governor thought it good policy to relax his ſeverity; and gave him the command of the fort, with the ordinary perquiſites of office, amounting to about fifty pounds ſterling. Not content with this, he complained, that the Governor did not allow him one third of his ſalary. The Governor's ſalary was but ſix hundred pounds currency; he ſpent at leaſt one hundred, in every journey to New-Hampſhire, of which he made two in a year. At the ſame time Dunbar had two hundred pounds ſterling, as Surveyor General of the woods; which, with the perquiſites, amounting to one hundred more, were divided between him and his deputies. But it muſt be remembered that he was deeply in debt, both here and in England. 1734.

The rigid execution of the office of Surveyor General had always been attended with difficulty; and the violent manner, in which Dunbar proceeded with treſpaſſers, raiſed a ſpirit of oppoſition on ſuch occaſions. The ſtatutes for the preſervation of the woods impowered the ſurveyor to ſeize all logs, cut from white pine trees, without licenſe; and it reſted on the claimant, to prove his property, in the court of Admiralty. Dunbar went to the ſaw-mills; where he ſeized and marked large quantities of lumber; and with an air and manner to which he had been accuſtomed in his military capacity, abuſed and threatened the people. That claſs of men, with whom he was diſpoſed to contend, are not eaſily intimidated with high words; and he was not a match for them, in that ſpecies of controverſy, which they have denominated

1734 *ſwamp law.* An inſtance of this happened at Dover, whither he came, with his boat's crew, to remove a parcel of boards, which he had ſeized. The owner, Paul Gerriſh, warned him of the conſequence; Dunbar threatened with death the firſt man who ſhould obſtruct his intentions; the ſame threat was returned to the firſt man who ſhould remove the boards. Dunbar's prudence at this time, got the better of his courage, and he retired.

With the like ſpirit, an attempt of the ſame kind was fruſtrated at Exeter, whither he ſent a company in a boat to remove lumber. Whilſt his men were regaling themſelves at a public houſe, in the evening, and boaſting of what they intended to do the next day; a number of perſons, diſguiſed like Indians, attacked and beat them; whilſt others cut the rigging and ſails of the boat, and made a hole in her bottom. The party not finding themſelves ſafe in the houſe, retreated to the boat, and puſhed off; but being there in danger of ſinking, they with difficulty regained the ſhore, and hid themſelves till morning, when they returned on foot to Portſmouth.

This was deemed a flagrant inſult. Dun-
April 26. bar ſummoned the Council, and complained to them of the riotous proceedings at Exeter, where there was 'a conſpiracy againſt his 'life, by evil minded perſons, who had hired 'Indians to deſtroy him.' He propoſed to the Council, the iſſuing of a proclamation, offering a reward to apprehend the rioters. The major part of the Council were of opinion, that no proclamation could be iſſued but by

the Governor.* Information being ſent to the Governor, he iſſued a proclamation; commanding all magiſtrates to aſſiſt in diſcovering the rioters. 1734.

This tranſaction afforded matter for complaint, and a memorial was drawn up by Thomlinſon, grounded on letters which he had received. It was ſuggeſted, that the Governor's pretence to favor the ſurveyor was deceitful; that the rioters at Exeter were his greateſt friends; that the Council, wholly devoted to him, would not adviſe to a proclamation till they had ſent to Boſton; that the proclamation was delayed; and when it appeared offered no reward; though Dunbar had propoſed to pay the money himſelf; and, that by reaſon of this delay and omiſſion, the rioters eſcaped with impunity. MS letters.

In juſtice to Mr. Belcher, it muſt be ſaid, that there was no delay on his part, the proclamation being ſent from Boſton within ſix days. It alſo appears, from the ſecret and confidential letters of the Governor, that he diſapproved the riot, and even called it rebellion; that he gave particular orders to the magiſtrates, to make inquiry, and take depoſitions, and do their utmoſt to diſcover the rioters. If he did not advertiſe a reward, it was becauſe there was no money in the treaſury; and if Dunbar had been ſincere in his offer to pay it, he might have promiſed it, by

* This was alſo the Governor's opinion; and in his letters he frequently aſſerts that Dunbar had no command in New-Hampſhire, whilſt he was in either of his governments. To be conſiſtent, he ſhould have maintained, that the Lieutenant Governor of Maſſachuſetts had no command whilſt he was in New Hampſhire; but there occurs an inſtance of a proclamation iſſued by Lieutenant Governor Phips, (March 25, 1737) on occaſion of a riot at Boſton, whilſt the Governor was in New Hampſhire; and at his return, he iſſued another, in which he refers to the former, not only without cenſuring it, but in terms of approbation.

1734. advertiſement. The true reaſon that the rioters were not diſcovered, was, that their plan was ſo artfully conducted, their perſons ſo effectually diſguiſed, and their confidence in each other ſo well placed, that no proof could be obtained; and the ſecret remained with themſelves, till the danger was over, and the government had paſſed into other hands.

A law had been made, for holding the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, alternately in each of the four old towns; and the practice had been continued for ſeveral years, much to the convenience and ſatisfaction of the people; but Dunbar remonſtrated againſt it, to the Board of Trade, and moved for a diſallowance of the act, becauſe the people who had obſtructed him in his office deſerved not ſo much favor. The act was in conſequence diſallowed, and the courts were afterward
1735. confined to Portſmouth. The order for diſallowance, came to the hands of Dunbar, who called a meeting of the Council, that they might adviſe to its publication. A majority of them would not conſent, till the original order was ſent to Boſton, and Governor Belch-
June 13. er directed the publication of it. This tranſaction ſerved as matter of freſh complaint, and was alleged as an argument for the appointment of a Governor, who ſhould reſide conſtantly in the Province.

To finiſh what relates to Dunbar. He was careſſed by the party in oppoſition to Belcher, under the idea that he had intereſt enough in England, to obtain a commiſſion for the government of New-Hampſhire. In 1737 he went to England to proſecute his deſign; where, by his old creditors, he was ar-

rested and thrown into prison. Thomlinson found means to liberate him; but perceived that he had neither steadiness nor ability for the station at which he aimed, nor interest enough to obtain it; though, by his presence in England, he served to keep up the opposition to Belcher, and was used as a tool for that purpose, till the object was accomplished. After which he was (1743) appointed, by the East India Company, Governor of St. Helena. 1735. Thomlinson's letters MS.

The trade of the Province at this time consisted chiefly in the exportation of lumber and fish to Spain and Portugal, and the Caribbee Islands. The mast trade was wholly confined to Great Britain. In the winter small vessels went to the southern Colonies, with English and West India goods, and returned with corn and pork. The manufacture of iron within the Province, which had been set up by the late Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, and other gentlemen, lay under discouragement, for want of experienced and industrious workmen. The woollen manufacture was diminished, and sheep were scarcer than formerly; the common lands on which they used to feed, being fenced in by the proprietors. The manufacture of linen was much increased by means of the emigrants from Ireland, who were skilled in that business. No improvements were made in agriculture, and the newly granted townships were not cultivated with spirit or success. Belchers, letters. to the Board of Trade. MS.

There had not been any settled Episcopal Church in the province from the beginning, till about the year 1732; when some gentlemen who were fond of the mode of divine

1735. worſhip, in the Church of England, contributed to the erection of a neat building on a commanding eminence, in Portſmouth, which they called the Queen's Chapel. Mr. Thomlinſon was greatly inſtrumental of procuring them aſſiſtance in England, toward completing and furniſhing it. It was conſecrated in 1734; and in 1736 they obtained Mr. Arthur Brown for their Miniſter, with a ſalary from the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts.

About this time, the country was viſited with a new epidemic diſeaſe, which has obtained the name of the *throat diſtemper*. The general diſcription of it was a ſwelled throat, with white or aſh-colored ſpecks, an efflorescence on the ſkin, great debility of the whole ſyſtem, and a ſtrong tendency to putridity. Its firſt appearance was in May 1735, at Kingſton in New-Hampſhire, an inland town, ſituate on a low plain. The firſt perſon ſeized, was a child, who died in three days. About a week after, in another family, at the diſtance of four miles, three children were ſucceſſively attacked, who alſo died on the third day. It continued ſpreading gradually, in that townſhip, through the ſummer, and of the firſt forty who had it none recovered. In Auguſt it began to make its appearance at Exeter, ſix miles north-eaſtward; and in September, at Boſton,* fifty miles ſouthward, though it

Douglaſs's practical hiſtory of a new miliary fever.

Fitch's Narrative.

* On its firſt appearance in Boſton, it was ſuppoſed to be nothing more than a common cold; but when the report of the mortality in New-Hampſhire was received, and a young man from Exeter, whoſe brother had died of it, was ſeized (October 1735) the houſe was ſhut and guarded, and a general alarm ſpread through the neighbouring towns and colonies. Upon his death, no infection was obſerved in that houſe or neighbourhood; but the diſtemper appeared in other places, which had no communication with the ſick. The phyſicians did not take the infection, nor convey it to their families, nor their other patients. It was therefore concluded, that

was October, before it reached Cheſter, the 1735.
neareſt ſettlement on the weſt of Kingſton. It continued its ravages through the ſucceeding winter and ſpring, and did not diſappear till the end of the next ſummer.

The moſt, who died of this peſtilence, were children; and the diſtreſs, which it occaſioned, was heightened to the moſt poignant degree. From three to ſix children were loſt out of ſome families; ſeveral buried four in a day, and many loſt their all. In ſome towns, one in three, and in others one in four of the ſick were carried off. In the pariſh of Hampton-Falls it raged moſt violently. Twenty families buried all their children. Twenty ſeven perſons were loſt out of five families; and more than one ſixth part of the inhabitants of that place died within thirteen months. In the whole Province, not leſs than one thouſand perſons, of whom above nine hundred were under twenty years of age, fell victims to this raging diſtemper.

Since the ſettlement of this country ſuch a mortality had not been known. It was obſerved, that the diſtemper proved moſt fatal, when plentiful evacuations, particularly bleeding, were uſed; a great proſtration of ſtrength being an invariable ſymptom. The ſummer of 1735, when the ſickneſs began, was unuſually wet and cold, and the eaſterly wind greatly prevailed. But it was acknowl-

it was not like the ſmall pox, or the plague, communicable by infection, from the ſick or from clothes; and the phyſicians, having by deſire of the ſelectmen, held a conſultation, publiſhed their opinion; that it proceeded entirely from 'ſome occult quality in the air.'

Weekly News Letter, April 29, 1736.

Dr. Douglaſs computes the number of perſons who had the diſtemper in Boſton at 4000; of whom 114 died, which is one in 35. The whole number of inhabitants at that time was eſtimated at 16,000.

1735. edged to be, not 'a creature of the ſeaſons;' as it raged through every part of the year. Its extent is ſaid to have been 'from Pemaquid to Carolina;' but with what virulence it raged, or in what meaſure it proved fatal to the ſouthward of New-England, does not appear.

The ſame diſtemper has made its appearance at various times ſince. In 1754 and 1755, it produced a great mortality in ſeveral parts of New-Hampſhire, and the neighbouring parts of Maſſachuſetts. Since that time it has either put on a milder form, or phyſicians have become better acquainted with it. The laſt time of its general ſpreading was in 1784, 5, 6 and 7. It was firſt ſeen at Sanford in the county of York; and thence diffuſed itſelf, very ſlowly, through moſt of the towns of New-England; but its virulence, and the mortality which it cauſed, were comparatively inconſiderable. 'Its remote, or prediſpoſing cauſe, is one of thoſe myſteries in nature, which baffle human inquiry.'

Dr. Hall Jackſon's Obſervations, 1786

The following TABLE, drawn from an account publiſhed by Mr. FITCH, miniſter of *Portſmouth*, July 26, 1736; is a BILL of MORTALITY for 14 months preceding.

TOWNS.	Under 10	Between 10 & 20	Above 20	Abo. 30	Abo. 40	Abo. 90	To-tal.
Portſmouth	81	15	1		2		99
Dover	77	8	3				88
Hampton	37	8	8	1		1	55
Hampton-Falls	160	40	9	1			210
Exeter	105	18	4				127
New Caſtle	11						11
Goſport	34	2			1		37
Rye	34	10					44
Greenland	13	2	3				18
Newington	16	5					21
Newmarket	20	1		1			22
Stretham	18						18
Kingſton	96	15	1	1			113
Durham	79	15	6				100
Cheſter	21						21
	802	139	35	4	3	1	984

After this account was taken 'ſeveral other children' died of the throat diſtemper. In the town of Hampton 13 more within the year 1736. So that the whole number muſt have exceeded a thouſand. In the town of Kittery, in the County of York, died 122.

It appears alſo, from the church records of Hampton, that from January 1754, to July 1755, fifty-one perſons died of the ſame diſtemper, in that town.

CHAP. XVII.

State of parties. Controverſy about lines. Commiſſioners appointed. Their ſeſſion and reſult. Appeals. Complaints.

WE have now come to that part of the Hiſtory of New-Hampſhire, in which may be ſeen, operating in a ſmaller ſphere, the ſame ſpirit of intrigue which has frequently influenced the conduct of princes, and determined the fate of nations. Whilſt on the one hand, we ſee Maſſachuſetts ſtiffly aſſerting her chartered claims; and looking with contempt, on the ſmall Province of New-Hampſhire, over which ſhe had formerly exerciſed juriſdiction; we ſhall ſee, on the other hand, New-Hampſhire aiming at an equal rank, and contending with her for a large portion of territory; not depending ſolely on argument; but ſeeking her refuge in the Royal favor, and making intereſt with the ſervants of the Crown. Had the controverſy been decided by a court of law, the claims of Maſſachuſetts would have had as much weight as thoſe of an individual, in a caſe of private property; but the queſtion being concerning a line of juriſdiction, it was natural to expect a deciſion, agreeable to the rules of policy and convenience; eſpecially where the tribunal itſelf was a party concerned.

It muſt be obſerved, that the party in New-Hampſhire, who were ſo earneſtly engaged in the eſtabliſhment of the boundary lines, had another object in view, to which this

was ſubordinate. Their avowed intention was to finiſh a long controverſy, which had proved a ſource of inconvenience to the people who reſided on the diſputed lands, or thoſe who ſought an intereſt in them; but their ſecret deſign was to diſplace Belcher, and obtain a Governor who ſhould have no connexion with Maſſachuſetts. To accompliſh the principal, it was neceſſary that the ſubordinate object ſhould be vigorouſly purſued. The Government of New-Hampſhire, with a ſalary of ſix hundred pounds, and perquiſites amounting to two hundred pounds more, equal in the whole to about eight hundred dollars per annum, was thought to be not worthy the attention of any gentleman; but if the lines could be extended on both ſides, there would be at once an increaſe of territory, and a proſpect of ſpeculating in landed property; and in future there would be an increaſe of cultivation, and conſequently of ability to ſupport a Governor.

The people were told that the lands would be granted to them; and by this bait they were induced to favor the plan; whilſt the miniſtry in England, were flattered with the idea, of an increaſe of crown influence in the plantations.

The leading men in Maſſachuſetts were aware of the views of thoſe in New-Hampſhire, and determined to guard againſt them. They preſumed, that a line of juriſdiction would not affect property; and therefore endeavored to ſecure the lands to themſelves, by poſſeſſion and improvement, as far as it was practicable. The ſame idea prevailed among the Governor's friends in New-Hamp-

ſhire. They perceived, that a tract of wilderneſs on the north eaſtern ſide of Merrimack River, and the ponds which flow into it, muſt doubtleſs fall into New-Hampſhire. For theſe lands they petitioned the Governor, and a charter was prepared, in which this whole tract, called King's-Wood, was granted to them. It contained all the lands not before granted, between the bounds of New-Hampſhire on the ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt; which, according to the ideas of thoſe concerned, would have been ſufficient for about four large townſhips.

Governor Belcher had a difficult part to act. He was at the head of two rival Provinces; he had friends in both, who were ſeeking their own as well as the public intereſt: He had enemies in both, who were watching him, eager to lay hold on the moſt trivial miſtake, and magnify it to his diſadvantage. His own intereſt was to preſerve his commiſſion, and counteract the machinations of his enemies; but as the ſettlement of the line, and the removing of him from his office, were carried on at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſons, it was difficult for him to oppoſe the latter, without ſeeming to oppoſe the former. Beſides, Mr. Wilks, the agent of Maſſachuſetts, was well known to be his friend; and when it was found neceſſary to increaſe the number, one of them was his brother, Mr. Patridge. On the other hand, Mr. Rindge and Mr. Thomlinſon were his avowed enemies. There was alſo a difference in the mode of appointing theſe agents. Thoſe of Maſſachuſetts were conſtituted by the Council and Repreſentatives, with the Gov-

ernor's conſent. Thoſe of New-Hampſhire were choſen by the Repreſentatives only, the Council nonconcurring in the choice; which, of courſe, could not be ſanctioned by the Governor's ſignature, nor by the ſeal of the Province.

When the petition which Rindge preſented to the King, had been referred to the Board of Trade, and a copy of it given to Wilks, to be ſent to his conſtituents, it became neceſſary that they ſhould inſtruct him. Their inſtructions were deſignedly expreſſed in ſuch ambiguous terms, that he was left to gueſs their meaning, and afterward blamed for not obſerving their directions. His embarraſſment on this occaſion, expreſſed in his petition and counter petition, to the Board of Trade, protracted the buſineſs, and gave it a complexion, unfavorable to his conſtituents, but extremely favorable to the deſign of New-Hampſhire. 1732. Hutchinſon II 385. Wilks's petitions and repre of Board of Trade MS.

To bring forward the controverſy, Parris, the ſolicitor for the agents of New-Hampſhire, moved a queſtion, 'From what part of 'Merrimack river the line ſhould begin?' The Board of Trade referred this queſtion, to the Attorney and Solicitor General, who appointed a day to hear council on both ſides. The council for New-Hampſhire inſiſted, that the line ought to begin three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack. The council for Maſſachuſetts declared, that in their opinion, the ſolution of this queſtion would not determine the controverſy, and therefore declined ſaying any thing upon it. The attorney and ſolicitor reported, that 'whether this 'were ſo or not, they could not judge; but 1733. Printed brief. MS report. 1734.

1734. June 5. 'as the queſtion had been referred to them, 'they were of opinion, that according to the 'charter of William and Mary, the dividing 'line ought to be taken, from three miles 'north of the mouth of Merrimack, where it 'runs into the ſea.' Copies of this opinion were given to each party; and the Lords of Trade reported, that the King ſhould appoint Commiſſioners, from the neighboring Provinces, to mark out the dividing line. This report was approved by the Lords of Council.

1735. June 5.

Much time was ſpent in references, meſſages and petitions, concerning the adjuſtment of various matters; and at length, the principal heads of the commiſſion were determined. The firſt was, that the commiſſioners ſhould be apointed, from among the Counſellors of New-York, New-Jerſey, Rhode-Iſland and Nova-Scotia. Theſe were all royal governments, except Rhode-Iſland; and with that Colony, as well as New-York, Maſſachuſetts had a controverſy, reſpecting boundaries. Connecticut, though propoſed, was deſignedly omitted, becauſe it was imagined that they would be partial to Maſſachuſetts, from the ſimilarity of their habits and intereſts. The other points were, that twenty commiſſioners ſhould be nominated, of whom five were to be a quorum; that they ſhould meet at Hampton, in New-Hampſhire, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1737; that each Province ſhould ſend to the Commiſſioners, *at their firſt meeting*, the names of two public officers, on whom any notice, ſummons, or final judgment might be ſerved; and at the ſame time ſhould exhibit, in writing, a plain and full ſtate of their reſpective claims, copies of which

1737. Feb. 4 & 9.

Printed brief.

ſhould be mutually exchanged; and that if either Province ſhould neglect to ſend in the names of their officers, or the full ſtate of their demands, at the time appointed, then the Commiſſioners ſhould proceed *ex parte*. That when the Commiſſioners ſhould have made and ſigned their final determination, they ſhould ſend copies to the public officers, of each Province; and then ſhould adjourn for ſix weeks, that either party might enter their appeal. 1737.

Theſe points being determined; the Board of Trade wrote letters to Belcher, encloſing the heads of the propoſed commiſſion, and directing him to recommend to the Aſſemblies of each Province, to chooſe their public officers, and prepare their demands, by the time when the Commiſſioners were to meet. Theſe were accompanied with letters to the Governors of the ſeveral Provinces, from which the Commiſſioners were elected, informing them of their appointment. The letters were delivered to Parris, and by him to Thomlinſon, to be ſent by the firſt ſhip to America. Thoſe to Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire, were directed, the one to Mr. Belcher, by name, as Governor of Maſſachuſetts; the other, to the commander in chief, *reſident* in New-Hampſhire; and it was required that the delivery of the letters ſhould be certified by affidavit. The deſign of this ſingular injunction was, that Dunbar, if preſent, ſhould receive the letter, and call the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire immediately; and that if Belcher ſhould forbid or hinder it, the blame of the neglect ſhould fall on him. At the ſame time another letter, reſpecting a peti- Feb. 18. Original letters of Parris.

1737. tion of a borderer on the line, and containing a reprimand to Belcher, was sent in the same manner, to be delivered by Dunbar, into Belcher's hands. These intended affronts, both failed of their effect; Dunbar having, before the arrival of the letters, taken his passage to England.

The anxiety of Thomlinson, to have the earliest notice possible, of the intended commission sent to New-Hampshire, led him not only to forward the public letters; but to send copies of all the transactions, to his friends there. In a letter to Wiggin and Rindge (the committee who corresponded with him) he advised them, to make the necessary preparations, as soon as possible, to act in conformity to the commission and instructions; and even went so far as to nominate the persons, whom they should appoint, to manage their cause before the Commissioners.

Feb. 15. Original MS letter.

March 18. These papers were communicated to the Assembly, at their session in March; and at the same time the Governor laid before them, a copy of the report of the Board of Trade, in favor of a commission, which had been made in the preceding December. In consequence of which, the Assembly appointed a committee of eight* who were empowered 'to prepare witnesses, pleas and allegations, 'papers and records, to be laid before the 'Commissioners; to provide for their recep- 'tion and entertainment, and to draw upon 'the Treasurer for such supplies of money as 'might be needful.' This appointment was

April 1. Assembly Records & printed brief.

* Shadrach Walton, George Jaffrey, Jotham Odiorne, Theodore Atkinson. } Of the Council.
Andrew Wiggin, John Rindge, Thomas Packer, James Jaffrey. } Of the House.

made by the united voice of the Council and Repreſentatives, and conſented to by the Governor; and though it was made, three weeks before the reception of the letters, from the Lords of Trade, directing the appointing of public officers, and preparing a ſtatement of claims; yet it was underſtood to be a full compliance with the orders and expectations of the government in England. 1737.

The ſame day on which this order paſſed, the Governor prorogued the Aſſembly to the ſixth of July; and on the twentieth of June he prorogued it again, to the fourth of Auguſt.

The letters reſpecting the commiſſion, were delivered to Mr. Belcher, on the twenty-ſecond of April; and he acknowledged the receipt of them, in a letter to the Board of Trade, on the tenth of May. The commiſſion itſelf was iſſued on the ninth of April, and ſent to Mr. Rindge; who kept it till the meeting of the Commiſſioners, and then delivered it to them. The expenſe of it, amounting to one hundred and thirty-five pounds ſterling, was paid by the agents of New-Hampſhire.

At the ſpring ſeſſion of the General Court in Maſſachuſetts; the Governor laid before them the letter from the Lords of Trade, incloſing an order from the Privy Council, and recommended to them to ſtop all proceſſes in law, reſpecting any diſputes of the borderers, till the boundaries ſhould be determined. During the ſame ſeſſion, he reminded them of the order, and deſired them to conſider it; telling them that he had *no advice* of the appointment of Commiſſioners. His

May 27. Journal of Aſſembly.

July 4.

1737. meaning was, that the commiſſion itſelf, in which they were named, had not been ſent to him; nor was he actually informed that it was in America, till after he had prorogued the Aſſemblies of both Provinces to the fourth of Auguſt. In obedience to the royal order,

July 5. the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts appointed Joſiah Willard, Secretary, and Edward Winſlow, Sheriff of Suffolk, to be the two public officers; on whom, or at whoſe place of abode, any notice, ſummons, or other proceſs of the Commiſſioners, might be ſerved.

On the day appointed eight of the Com-

Auguſt 1. miſſioners met at Hampton.* They publiſhed their commiſſion, opened their court, choſe William Parker their clerk, and George Mitchel ſurveyor. On the ſame day, the Commit-

MS. original minutes by Mr. Parker. tee of eight, who had been appointed by the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire, in April, appeared; and delivered a paper to the court, reciting the order of the King, for the appointment of two public officers; alleging that the Aſſembly had not been convened ſince the arrival of that order; but, that there ſhould be no failure for want of ſuch officers, *they* appointed Richard Waldron, Secretary, and Eleazer Ruſſell, Sheriff. They alſo delivered the claim and demand of New-Hampſhire, in the following words. 'That the 'ſouthern boundary of ſaid Province ſhould 'begin at the end of three miles north from

MS. Minutes, and Maſſachuſetts Journal, p. 34. 'the middle of the channel of Merrimack 'river, where it runs into the Atlantic Ocean;

* William Skene Preſi. Eraſmus James Phillips, Otho Hamilton. } From Nova-Scotia.

Samuel Vernon, John Gardner, John Potter, Ezekiel Warner, George Cornel. } From Rhode-Iſland.

'and from thence ſhould run, on a ſtraight 1737.
'line, weſt, up into the main land (toward
'the ſouth ſea) until it meets his Majeſty's
'other governments. And that the northern
'boundary of New-Hampſhire ſhould begin
'at the entrance of Piſcataqua harbour, and
'ſo paſs up the ſame, into the river of New-
'ichwanock, and through the ſame, into
'the fartheſt head thereof; and from thence
'northweſtward, (that is, north, leſs than a
'quarter of a point, weſtwardly) as far as the
'Britiſh dominion extends; and alſo the weſt-
'ern half of the Iſles of Shoals, we ſay, lies
'within the Province of New-Hampſhire.'

The ſame day, Thomas Berry and Benjamin Lynde, Counſellors of Maſſachuſetts, appeared and delivered the vote of their Aſſembly, appointing two public officers, with a letter from the Secretary, by order of the Governor, purporting, that 'at the laſt riſing 'of the Aſſembly there was *no account* that any 'commiſſion had arrived; that the Aſſembly 'ſtood prorogued to the fourth of Auguſt; 'that a committee had been appointed, to 'draw up a ſtate of their demands, which 'would be reported at the next ſeſſion, and 'therefore praying that this ſhort delay might 'not operate to their diſadvantage.' Upon this, the committee of New-Hampſhire drew up and preſented another paper, charging the government of Maſſachuſetts with 'great 'backwardneſs, and averſion to any meaſures, 'which had a tendency to the ſettlement of 'this long ſubſiſting controverſy; and alſo 'charging their agent, in England, with hav- MS. Minutes. 'ing uſed all imaginable artifices, to delay 'the iſſue; for which reaſon, the agent of

Auguſt 2.

1737. 'New-Hampshire had petitioned the King, 'to give directions, that each party might be 'fully prepared, to give in a state of their de- 'mands, *at the first meeting* of the Commission- 'ers; which direction they had faithfully 'observed, to the utmost of their power; and 'as the Assembly of Massachusetts had made 'no seasonable preparation, they did, in be- 'half of New-Hampshire, except and protest 'against any claim or evidence being receiv- 'ed from them, and pray the court to proceed '*ex parte*, agreeably to the commission.'

It was alleged in favor of Massachusetts, that by the first meeting of the Commissioners could not be meant the first day, but the first session. The court understood the word in this sense, and resolved, that Massachusetts should be allowed time, till the eighth of August, and no longer, to bring in their claims; and that if they should fail, the court would proceed *ex parte*. The Court then adjourned to the eighth day.

August 4. The Assembly of New-Hampshire met on the fourth; and the Secretary, by the Governor's order, prorogued them to the tenth, then to meet at Hampton-Falls. On the same day, the Assembly of Massachusetts met at Boston; and after they had received the report of the committee, who had drawn up their claim, and dispatched expresses to New-York and New-Jersey, to expedite the other Commissioners; and appointed a committee to support their claims;* the Governor ad-

Massachusetts Assembly Records

* This committee consisted of Edmund Quincy, William Dudley, Samuel Welles, Thomas Berry, and Benjamin Lynde, of the Council; and Elisha Cooke. Thomas Cushing, Job Almy, Henry Rolfe, and Nathaniel Peaslee, of the House. Cooke died while the Commissioners were sitting. He had been employed on the same affair at Newbury in 1731.

journed them, to the tenth day, then to meet at Saliſbury. Thus the Aſſemblies of both Provinces were drawn within five miles of each other; and the Governor declared, in his ſpeech, that he would 'act as a common 'father to both.' 1737.

The claim of Maſſachuſetts being prepared, was delivered to the Court, on the day appointed. After reciting their grant and charters and the judicial determination in 1677, they aſſerted their 'claim and demand, ſtill 'to hold and poſſeſs, by a boundary line, on 'the ſoutherly ſide of New-Hampſhire, be- 'ginning at the ſea, three Engliſh miles north 'from the Black Rocks, ſo called, at the mouth 'of the river Merrimack, as it emptied itſelf 'into the ſea ſixty years ago; thence run- 'ning parallel with the river, as far north- 'ward as the crotch or parting of the river; 'thence due north, as far as a certain tree, 'commonly known for more than ſeventy 'years paſt, by the name of Endicot's tree; 'ſtanding three miles northward of ſaid crotch 'or parting of Merrimack river; and thence, 'due weſt to the South Sea; which (they ſaid) 'they were able to prove, by ancient and in- 'conteſtible evidence, were the bounds inten- 'ded, granted, and adjudged to them; and 'they inſiſted on the grant and ſettlement as 'above ſaid, to be concluſive and irrefragable. Auguſt 8. Journal, page 6.

'On the northerly ſide of New-Hampſhire, 'they claimed a boundary line, beginning at 'the entrance of Piſcataqua harbour; paſſing

and it was by his means that the buſineſs was then obſtructed. In reference to this, Belcher, in a private letter ſays, 'Generations to come will riſe up and call him CURSED.' On account of Cooke's death, and the abſence of another member, they appointed John Read and Robert Auchmuty. Auguſt 13.

1737. 'up the ſame, to the river Newichwanock; 'through that to the fartheſt head thereof, 'and from thence a due north weſt line, till 'one hundred and twenty miles from the 'mouth of Piſcataqua harbour be finiſhed.'

The Court ordered copies of the claims of each Province, to be drawn and exchanged; and having appointed Benjamin Rolfe of Boſton, an additional Clerk, they adjourned to the tenth day of the month.

Auguſt 10. On that day both Aſſemblies met at the appointed places. A cavalcade was formed from Boſton to Saliſbury, and the Governor rode in ſtate, attended by a troop of horſe.* He was met at Newbury ferry by another troop; who, joined by three more at the ſuppoſed diviſional line, conducted him to the George Tavern, at Hampton-Falls; where he held a Council and made a ſpeech to the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire. Whilſt both Aſſemblies were in ſeſſion; the Governor, with a ſelect company, made an excurſion, of three days, to the falls of Amuſkeag; an account of which was publiſhed in the papers, and concluded in the following manner: 'His Excellency was much pleaſed with the 'fine ſoil of Cheſter, the extraordinary im- 'provements at Derry, and the mighty falls 'at Skeag.'

Boſton Weekly News Letter, Aug. 25.

* This proceſſion occaſioned the following paſquinade, in an aſſumed Hibernian ſtyle.

'Dear Paddy, you ne'er did behold ſuch a ſight,
As yeſterday morning was ſeen before night.
You in all your born days ſaw, nor I didn't neither,
So many fine horſes and men ride together.
At the head, the lower houſe trotted two in a row,
Then all the higher houſe pranc'd after the low;
Then the Governor's coach gallop'd on like the wind,
And the laſt that came foremoſt were troopers behind;
But I fear it means no good, to your neck nor mine;
For they ſay 'tis to fix a right place for the line.'

Collection of Poems, p. 54.

In the ſpeech, which the Governor made to the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire, he recommended to them to appoint two officers, agreeably to his Majeſty's commiſſion. The Aſſembly appeared to be much ſurpriſed at this ſpeech; and in their anſwer, ſaid, that 'the committee before appointed had already given in the names of two officers, which they approved of; for had it not been done, at the firſt meeting of the Commiſſioners, they might have proceeded *ex parte*.' 1737. Aſſembly Journal and printed brief.

Conſidering the temper and views of Mr. Belcher's opponents, this was rather unfortunate for him, ſo ſoon after his profeſſion of being 'a common father to both Provinces.' For if the committee had a right to nominate the two officers, then his recommendation was needleſs; if they had not, it might juſtly be aſked, why did he not call the Aſſembly together, on the ſixth of July, to which day they had been prorogued? The excuſe was, that he did it, to avoid any objection, which might be made to the regularity of their appointment; and to give them an opportunity to ratify and confirm it. The truth was, that Mr. Belcher highly reſented the conduct of the committee of New-Hampſhire, who concealed the commiſſion, and never communicated it to him in form. Had he been aware of the uſe, which his enemies might make, of his rigid adherence to forms, when he could not but know the contents of the commiſſion, and the time when it muſt be executed, prudence might have dictated a more flexible conduct. They did not fail, to make the utmoſt advantage of his miſtakes,

1737. to ſerve the main cauſe which they had in view.

The expreſſes which were ſent by Maſſachuſetts, to call the other Commiſſioners, had no other effect than to add to the number, Philip Livingſtone, from New-York; who, being ſenior in nomination, preſided in the Court.

To prevent the delay, which would unavoidably attend the taking of plans from actual ſurveys; the Commiſſioners recommended, to both Aſſemblies, to agree upon a plan, by which the pretenſions of each Province ſhould be underſtood; but as this could not be done, a plan drawn by Mitchel was accepted, and when their reſult was made this plan was annexed to it. They then proceeded to hear the anſwers, which each party made, to the demands of the other, and to examine witneſſes on both ſides. Neither party was willing to admit the evidence, produced by the other, and mutual exceptions and proteſts were entered. The points in debate were, whether Merrimack river, at that time, emptied itſelf into the ſea, at the ſame place where it did ſixty years before? Whether it bore the ſame name, from the ſea, up to the crotch? and whether it were poſſible to draw a parallel line, three miles northward, of every part of a river; the courſe of which was, in ſome places, from north to ſouth?

With reſpect to the boundary line, between New-Hampſhire and Maine; the controverted points were, whether it ſhould run up the middle of the river, or on its north-eaſtern ſhore; and whether the line, from the head

of the river, ſhould be due north-weſt, or only a few degrees weſtward of north. 1737.

The grand point on which the whole controverſy reſpecting the ſouthern line turned, was, whether the charter of William and Mary granted to Maſſachuſetts, all the lands which were granted, by the charter of Charles the firſt? On this queſtion, the Commiſſioners did not come to any concluſion. Reaſons of policy might have ſome weight, to render them indeciſive; but, whether it were really ſo or not, they made and pronounced their reſult in the following words. In 'purſuance of his Majeſty's commiſſion, the 'Court took under conſideration, the evidences, pleas, and allegations offered and made 'by each party; and upon mature adviſement on the whole, a doubt aroſe in point 'of law; and the Court thereupon came to 'the following reſolution. That if the charter of King William and Queen Mary, grants 'to the Province of Maſſachuſetts Bay, all 'the lands granted by the charter of King 'Charles the firſt, lying to the northward of 'Merrimack river; then the Court adjudge 'and determine, that a line ſhall run, paralel with the ſaid river, at the diſtance of three 'Engliſh miles, north from the mouth of the 'ſaid river, beginning at the ſoutherly ſide of 'the Black Rocks, ſo called, at low water 'mark and from thence to run to the crotch, 'where the rivers of Pemigewaſſet and Winipiſeogee meet; and from thence due north 'three miles, and from thence due weſt, toward the ſouth ſea, until it meets with his 'Majeſty's other governments; which ſhall 'be the boundary or dividing line, between

Sept. 2. MS Copy. Journal of Maſſachuſetts Aſſembly, p. 35.

1737. 'the ſaid Provinces of Maſſachuſetts and 'New-Hampſhire, on that ſide. But, if other-'wiſe, then the Court adjudge and determine, 'that a line on the ſoutherly ſide of New-'Hampſhire, beginning at the diſtance of 'three miles north, from the ſoutherly ſide of 'the Black Rocks aforeſaid, at low water 'mark, and from thence running due weſt, 'up into the main land, toward the ſouth 'ſea, until it meets with his Majeſty's other 'governments, ſhall be the boundary line be-'tween the ſaid Provinces, on the ſide afore-'ſaid: Which point in doubt, the Court hum-'bly ſubmit, to the wiſe conſideration of his 'moſt ſacred Majeſty, in his Privy Council; 'to be determined according to his royal will 'and pleaſure.

'As to the northern boundary, between 'the ſaid Provinces, the Court reſolve and de-'termine; that the dividing line ſhall paſs 'through the mouth of Piſcataqua harbour, 'and up the middle of the river of Newich-'wanock, (part of which is now called Sal-'mon-Falls) and through the middle of the 'ſame, to the fartheſt head thereof, and from 'thence north, two degrees weſterly, until 'one hundred and twenty miles be finiſhed, 'from the mouth of Piſcataqua harbour afore-'ſaid; or until it meets with his Majeſty's 'other governments. And, that the dividing 'line ſhall part the Iſles of Shoals, and run 'through the middle of the harbour, between 'the iſlands, to the ſea, on the ſoutherly ſide; 'and that the ſouthweſterly part of ſaid iſl-'ands ſhall lie in, and be accounted part of, 'the Province of New-Hampſhire; and that 'the north-eaſterly part thereof ſhall lie in,

'and be accounted part of, the Province of 1737.
'Maſſachuſetts Bay; and be held and enjoy-
'ed by the ſaid Provinces reſpectively, in the
'ſame manner as they now do, and have here-
'tofore held and enjoyed the ſame.

'And the Court do further adjudge, that
'the coſt and charge ariſing by taking out
'the Commiſſion, and alſo of the Commiſ-
'ſioners and their officers, viz. the two Clerks,
'Surveyor and Waiter, for their travelling ex-
'penſes, and attendance in the execution of the
'ſame, be equally borne by the ſaid Provinces.'

Thus this long depending queſtion, after all the time, expenſe and argument, which it had occaſioned, remained undecided.

When this evaſive decree was publiſhed, the Commiſſioners adjourned, to the fourteenth of October, to receive appeals; and the ſame day, the Governor, at the requeſt of the Council only, adjourned the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire to the twelfth of October. By this ſudden adjournment, it was impoſſible for them to obtain a copy of the decree, before their diſperſion, or to frame an appeal, till two days before the time, when it muſt have been preſented. The Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts continued their ſeſſion, at Saliſbury, five days longer. On the fifth of September, they obtained copies of the royal Commiſſion, and the decree of the Commiſſioners, which they entered on their journal. On the ſixth, they agreed upon an appeal; and on the ſeventh, at the united requeſt of both Houſes, the Governor adjourned them to the 12th of October.

The ſudden adjournment of the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire, when that of Maſſachu-

1737. ſetts continued their ſeſſion, was unfortunate for Governor Belcher ; and gave his opponents another advantage, to purſue their grand deſign againſt him. The reaſons aſſigned for it were, that the report of the Commiſſioners being ſpecial, the whole matter would of courſe come before the King, without any appeal from either Province. For this reaſon, a majority of the Council were againſt an appeal. That as the committee, appointed in April, had the ſame power to act in the receſs, as in the ſeſſion of the Aſſembly ; and, as the Council were againſt appealing ; ſo the appeal could not be made, by the whole Aſſembly, and therefore the Governor thought, that the beſt ſervice which he could do to the Province, was to adjourn the Aſſembly, and leave the whole buſineſs in the hands of the committee. With reſpect to the ſhort time, between the 12th and 14th of October, it was obſerved, that the claim of New-Hampſhire was contained in a few lines, and their exceptions to the judgment of the Commiſſioners might be prepared in a quarter of an hour.

Printed brief.

Both Aſſemblies met again, in the ſame places, at the appointed time. The Repreſentatives of New-Hampſhire having, by the help of their committee, in the receſs of the Aſſembly, obtained the papers, framed their exceptions and ſent a meſſage, to know if the Council were ſitting ; but the Council being determined againſt an appeal, had met and adjourned, without doing any buſineſs. The Houſe therefore was reduced to the neceſſity of deſiring the Commiſſioners to receive their appeal, without the concurrence of the

Oct. 12.

Governor and Council. The appeal, from the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts, was preſented in due form, authenticated by the Speaker, Secretary and Governor. Their committee entered a proteſt againſt the appeal of New-Hampſhire, becauſe it was not an act of the whole Legiſlature; nevertheleſs, the Commiſſioners received it, and entered it on their minutes. Having received theſe appeals, the Commiſſioners adjourned their Court to the firſt of Auguſt in the next year, but they never met again. 1737.

The Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts appointed Edmund Quincy and Richard Partridge Agents, to join with Francis Wilks, their former agent, in the proſecution of their appeal before the King; and raiſed the ſum of two thouſand pounds ſterling, to defray the expenſe. Maſſachuſetts Journal of aſſembly.

When the Repreſentatives of New-Hampſhire propoſed the raiſing of money, to proſecute their appeal, the Council nonconcurred the vote. Their reaſons were, that the appeal was not an act of the Council; that they had no voice in the appointment of the agent; and, that at the beginning of the affair, the Houſe had declared to the Council, that the expenſe of it would be defrayed by *private ſubſcription*. Printed brief.

At this ſeſſion of the Maſſachuſetts Aſſembly, Mr. Belcher put them in mind that he had ſuffered in his intereſt, by the continually ſinking value of their bills of credit, in which his ſalary was paid; a point which he had, often before, urged them to conſider. In anſwer to this meſſage, they made him a grant of £333,6,8, in bills of the new tenor. Hutchinſon II. 390. Journal, Oct. 19.

1737. The ſame day, they made a grant of the like ſum, to the Preſident of Harvard College. Both theſe ſums appear to have been juſtly due; and at any other time, no exception could have been made to either. But, becauſe the grant to the Governor happened to be made, at the ſame time with the grant of £2000 ſterling to the agents, his opponents pretended, that he received it as a bribe, from the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts, for favoring their cauſe.

MSS. The appeal of New-Hampſhire, from the judgment of the Commiſſioners, was founded on the following reaſons. With reſpect to the ſoutherly line; becauſe it made the Black Rocks, lying in a bay of Merrimack river, the point from which the three miles were to be meaſured; which point was three quarters of a mile north of the river's mouth; and, becauſe a line, parallel with the river, was not only impracticable, but founded on the old charter, which had been vacated; and, if practicable, yet ought not to go farther than the river held a weſterly courſe. With reſpect to the northern boundary, they objected to that part of the judgment only, which directed the line to run up the middle of the river; alleging that the grant to Gorges was only of land, between that river and Kennebec; and that New-Hampſhire had always been in poſſeſſion of the whole river, and had maintained a fortreſs which commanded its entrance.

The appeal of Maſſachuſetts was grounded on the following reaſons. That by the charter of William and Mary, the old Colony of Maſſachuſetts was re-incorporated without

any exception ; that this charter empowered the Governor and General Aſſembly to grant all lands, comprehended in the old Colony ; that the committee of New-Hampſhire acknowledged, that New-Hampſhire lay without the late Colony of Maſſachuſetts, by declaring that it was between that and the Province of Maine ; that the weſt line, claimed by New-Hampſhire, would croſs Merrimack river, thirty miles from its mouth, and exclude forty miles of ſaid river out of Maſſachuſetts, though declared, by both charters, to be in it. They objected to extending the line of New-Hampſhire till it ſhould meet with his Majeſty's other governments ; becauſe according to *Maſon's grant*, New-Hampſhire could extend no farther than ſixty miles from the ſea. With reſpect to the northern boundary, they objected to a line north, two degrees weſtwardly, alleging that it ought to be on the northweſt point ; they alſo excepted to the protraction of this line, till it ſhould meet with his Majeſty's other governments ; alleging that it ought to extend no farther than one hundred and twenty miles, the fixed limits of the Province of Maine. 1737.

It was unfortunate for Maſſachuſetts that their committee had brought Maſon's grant, in evidence to the Commiſſioners, and again recited it in their appeal ; for a line of ſixty miles from the ſea would croſs Merrimack river, long before the ſimilar curve line, for which they contended, could be completed. Beſides, Maſon's grant extended to Naumkeag ; which was much further ſouthward, than they would have been willing to admit.

It may ſeem curious and unaccountable to

1737. moſt readers, that the Commiſſioners ſhould determine the northern, or rather eaſtern bounds of the northern part of New-Hampſhire, to be a line drawn *north, two degrees weſterly*, from the head of Salmon-fall River; when the expreſs words of Gorges' patent are 'north weſtward.' The agents for Maſſachuſetts, when this claim was put in by New-Hampſhire, could hardly think it was ſeriouſly meant, when it was alleged that by northweſtward muſt be underſtood, north *a little* weſtward. The only oſtenſible reaſon, given for this conſtruction was, that if a northweſt line had been intended, then a ſoutheaſt line, drawn from the mouth of the harbour, would leave all the Iſles of Shoals in New-Hampſhire; whereas, the dividing line runs between them. On the other ſide, it might have been ſaid, with equal propriety, that a line drawn ſouth, two degrees eaſt, from the mouth of the harbour, would leave all theſe iſlands in Maſſachuſetts. For the point where the iſlands are divided bears ſouth, twenty-nine degrees eaſt, from the middle of the harbour's mouth; the variation of the needle being ſix degrees weſt.

Hutchinſon II, 389.

MS minutes of the Commiſſioners.

Obſerved 1781.

When this affair was again agitated in England, the agents of Maſſachuſetts obtained a certificate from the learned Dr. Halley, that a line northweſtward ought to run forty-five degrees weſtward of the north point. This was demonſtratively true; but there were political reaſons for diſſenting from mathematical demonſtration. One of them is thus expreſſed, in a private letter, from a committee of the Aſſembly, to their agent Thomlinſon. 'We hope that the northern

'line will be but a few degrees to the weſtward 1737.
'of north, that his Majeſty's Province may in-
'clude the greateſt number, and beſt maſt
'trees for the royal navy.' Though this thought might never have occurred to a mathematician, yet ſome of the commiſſioners were doubtleſs acquainted with it; and it was too important, not to have been communicated to the King's miniſters. Another political reaſon of diſſent was, that by enlarging New-Hampſhire, there would be a better proſpect of obtaining a diſtinct Governor which was the grand object in view.

The new agent of Maſſachuſetts, Edmund 1738.
Quincy, died of the ſmall pox, ſoon after his arrival in London. The affair was then left in the hands of Wilks and Partridge, neither of whom underſtood ſo much of the controverſy as Thomlinſon; who was alſo far ſuperior to them in addreſs. In his letters, to his friends in New-Hampſhire, he frequently blames them for their negligence, in not ſending to him the neceſſary papers in proper ſeaſon; and when ſent, for the want of correctneſs and regularity in them. But their deficiency was abundantly compenſated by the dexterity of his ſolicitor, Paris; who drew up a long 'petition of appeal;' in which, all the circumſtances, attending the whole tranſaction, from the beginning, were recited, and colored, in ſuch a manner, as to aſperſe the Governor and Aſſembly of 'the vaſt, opulent, 'overgrown. Province of Maſſachuſetts;' while 'the poor, little, loyal, diſtreſſed Prov-'ince of New-Hampſhire' was repreſented as ready to be devoured, and the kings own property and poſſeſſions ſwallowed up, by

1738. the boundleſs rapacity of the charter government. Concerning the manner in which this maſterly philippic was framed, and the principal object at which it was directed, there can be no better evidence, than that which is contained in a letter, written by Parris to Thomlinſon, and by him ſent to New-Hampſhire. 'Two nights ago, I received a heap 'of papers from you, about the lines; and Feb. 4. 'have been four times to the Colony Office, 'and Board of Trade, to diſcover what I could 'in this imperfect affair; but cannot ſee the 'caſe, till after Tueſday next. Notwithſtanding which, I have, as well as I can, *without 'proper materials*, drawn up a long petition 'of appeal, to his Majeſty; and as the Maſſachuſetts have not yet preſented theirs, I ſend 'you the draught of it, and hope we ſhall 'have our appeal, as well as the petition, 'from the New-Hampſhire Aſſembly, in, before the Maſſachuſetts get theirs in. Had 'your principals conſidered the great conſequence of being firſt, ſurely, in all this time, 'they would have ſent you a copy of their 'proceedings, in order to have enabled us to 'be firſt; but, as it is, I am forced to *gueſs* at 'matters, and *affirm facts at adventure*, or upon 'dubious paſſages in letters; which is a ſad way 'of proceeding, and I wiſh we do not miſtake 'ſome facts. They oblige us to make brick 'without ſtraw. Above all, why did they 'not ſend a copy of their own appeal? 'For want of it, I have been forced to *gueſs* 'what that appeal was, from looſe paſſages in 'Mr. A's letters. Beg them, immediately to 'order, an exact copy to be made of all their 'votes, from March to October laſt. Had

'these votes come over regularly and authen- 1738.
'tically, his EXCELLENCY would have been
'*shaken quite down*, in a few weeks by them.
'You'll observe, I have *laid it on him* pretty
'handsomely, in my petition to the King.'*

Thus the petition of appeal became a petition of complaint, against the Governor and Assembly of Massachusetts. Copies were delivered to their agents, and the Governor was ordered to make answer to the allegations against him. At the same time, Thomlinson advised his friends in New-Hampshire, to prepare their proofs, as *silently* as possible; and by no means to give any offence to the Governor; assuring them of the favorable disposition of several Lords of the Privy Council, as well as the Board of Trade, toward their cause; and that they had need to be in no pain, about the event. Thomlinson's MS letters.

The death of Mr. Quincy at this critical period, and the length of time necessary to prepare and send over answers, to the complaint which Parris had thus artfully drawn up, obliged the agents of Massachusetts to suspend the presenting of their appeal for several months.

* This petition is printed at large, in the Journal of the Massachusetts Assembly for 1738, with their vindication annexed, in which they call the petition 'a chain of blundering, if not malicious falsehoods.'

CHAP. XVIII.

Revival of MASON's *claim. Accuſations againſt* BELCHER, *real and forged. Royal cenſure. Final eſtabliſhment of the lines.* HUTCHINSON's *agency. Spaniſh war.* BELCHER's *zeal and fidelity. His removal. Examination of his character.*

THE ſpirit of intrigue was not confined to New-Hampſhire; for the politicians of Maſſachuſetts, by bringing into view the long dormant claim of Maſon, had another game to play, beſides proving the ſmall extent of New-Hampſhire. They perceived that the line, whether ſettled according to their own demand or that of New-Hampſhire, would cut off a conſiderable part of ſeveral of their townſhips; and though they had, by their agent, obtained a promiſe, that private property ſhould not be affected by the line of juriſdiction, yet they thought it beſt to have ſome other ſecurity.

For what reaſon the government of Maſſachuſetts did not purchaſe the Province of New-Hampſhire, from Robert Maſon, at the ſame time (1677) that they purchaſed the province of Maine, from the heirs of Gorges, we are not now able preciſely to determine. It is probable that the purchaſe might then have been eaſily made, and much controverſy prevented. When it was ſold, by John and Robert Maſon, to Samuel Allen (1691) the bargain was made in England; and the lands were, by fiction of law, ſuppoſed to be there;* by which means, the proceſs

See Vol. I. p. 118.

* In the process by which the entail was then docked, the ſituation of the lands is expreſſed in theſe words.

'In New-Hampſhire, Main, Maſonia, Laconia, Maſon-hall and Maſſriana, in New-England, in America, in the parish of Greenwich.'

MS in Proprietary Office.

reſpecting the fine and recovery was carried on in the Court of King's bench. During the lives of the two Maſons, no notice was taken of the ſuppoſed flaw; and the ſale to Allen was not diſputed. The brothers returned to America. John the elder, died without iſſue. Robert married in New-England, and had a ſon; who, after the death of his father, conceived hopes of invalidating Allen's purchaſe, and regaining his paternal inheritance; which it was ſuppoſed could not have been transferred by his father and uncle, for any longer term, than their own lives. It was alſo ſaid that the fiction, by which the lands were deſcribed, to be within the juriſdiction of the Courts of Weſtminſter Hall, rendered the proceedings void; and therefore that the entail was ſtill good. Filled with theſe ideas, he made ſtrenuous exertions, to acquire money, to aſſiſt him in realizing his expectations; but died in the midſt of his days, at the Havanna, whither he had made a voyage (1718.) with this view. His eldeſt ſon, John Tufton, was bred to a mechanical employment in Boſton; and came of age, about the time in which the controverſy between the two Provinces was in agitation. He inherited the enterpriſing ſpirit of his anceſtors, and the public controverſy called his attention to his intereſt. On this young man, 1738. the polticians caſt their eyes; and having conſulted council on the validity of his claim, and the defect of the transfer; they encouraged him to hope, that this was the moſt favorable time to aſſert his pretenſions. Had they purchaſed his claim at once; they might doubtleſs have obtained

MS copy of Read's and Auchmuty's opinions.

1738. it for a trifle, and have greatly embarraſſed the views of their antagoniſts. Inſtead of ſuch a ſtroke of liberal policy, they treated with him, concerning the releaſe of all thoſe lands, in Saliſbury, Ameſbury, Haverhill, Methuen and Dracut, which the line would cut off; and, for five hundred pounds currency, obtained a quit-claim of twenty-three thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-five acres.

July 1. They alſo admitted his memorial to the Aſſembly; in which he repreſented to them,

Journal of Aſſembly. that his intereſt might probably be affected, by the final determination of the line, and praying that the Province would be at the expenſe of his voyage to England, to take proper meaſures for ſecuring it. To this they conſented, on condition that he ſhould prove his deſcent from Capt. John Maſon, the original patentee. Depoſitions were accordingly taken in both Provinces, to which the public ſeals were affixed; and they put him under the direction of their agents, ordering his expenſes to be paid, as long as they ſhould judge his preſence in England ſerviceable to their views.

MS copies in the proprietary office.

The agents ſtated his caſe to their Council, the King's ſolicitor; and aſked his opinion how they ſhould proceed; but he adviſed them, not to bring him into view, leſt the Lords ſhould think it an artifice, intended to perplex the main cauſe. On this conſideration, they diſmiſſed him from any farther attendance; and paid his expenſes, amounting to above ninety pounds ſterling.*

Agent's letters in Secretary's Office of Maſſachuſetts.

* Mr. Hutchinſon, in his Hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts, has paſſed over this whole tranſaction in ſilence; though it is well known that he was one of the managers of it. See Journal of Maſſ. Rep. June 2, 1738, p. 11.

Such a tranſaction, though conducted as privately as the nature of the thing would admit, did not eſcape the vigilance of Thomlinſon; who, on finding Maſon detached from the agents of Maſſachuſetts, entered into an agreement with him, for the releaſe of his whole intereſt, to the aſſembly of New-Hampſhire; in conſideration of the payment of one thouſand pounds, currency of New-England. This manœuvre ſerved to ſtrengthen the intereſt of New-Hampſhire, and Thomlinſon was much applauded for his dexterity. He had the ſtrongeſt inducement, to continue his efforts in their favor; for no leſs than twelve hundred pounds ſterling had been already expended, in proſecuting the affair of the line; which ſum had been advanced by himſelf and Rindge. There was no proſpect of repayment, unleſs the Province could be put under a ſeparate Governor; and this point could not be obtained, till the removal of Belcher. 1738.

The Agents of Maſſachuſetts, after a long delay, preſented their appeal; and followed it with a petition, for the benefit of their former proteſts, againſt the New-Hampſhire appeal; objecting alſo to its regularity, as it contained matters of perſonal complaint, againſt the Governor; which had been no part of the records of the Commiſſioners. Thomlinſon finding this new petition thrown in his way, applied for its being immediately heard; and at the hearing, it was diſmiſſed, but without prejudice to the agents of Maſſachuſetts being permitted, to object againſt the regularity of the New-Hampſhire appeal, when it ſhould come to a hearing. Such

July 18. October 9. Printed brief and MS letters.

Nov. 30.

1738. were the complaints againſt the Governor, and the importunity of his adverſaries to proſecute them, that it was neceſſary to hear and diſpatch them, before the appeal reſpecting the lines could be brought forward.

It muſt be remembered, that Mr. Belcher had enemies, in his government of Maſſachuſetts as well as New-Hampſhire, who united their efforts to obtain his removal from both; but, as they ſuppoſed him more vulnerable in his capacity of Governor of New-Hampſhire, ſo they joined in ſtrengthening the complaints, from that quarter, as a preparatory ſtep, to effect his complete removal. Whilſt he was engaged, in preparing for his defence, againſt the charges, in the petition of appeal; other attacks were meditating, which were conducted with ſuch *ſilence* that it was impoſſible for him to guard againſt their effects. One of theſe was a letter, purporting to have been written at Exeter, ſubſcribed by five perſons, ſaid to be inhabitants of that town, and directed to Sir Charles Wager, firſt lord of the Admiralty. In this letter it was ſaid, that 'finding his 'Lordſhip had ordered the Judge Advocate 'of the Court of Admiralty to inquire into 'the riot, which had been committed there, '(1734) and the aſſault of the ſurveyor and 'his officers; and fearing to be brought into 'trouble on that account, they would confeſs 'the whole truth. That they had been in-'dulged, by former ſurveyors, in cutting all 'ſorts of pine trees, till the appointment of 'Col. Dunbar to that office; who had re-'ſtrained and proſecuted them; but that 'Governor Belcher had privately given them

1739. May 5.

MS copy of Exeter letter.

'encouragement, to go on; by aſſuring them 1739.
'that they had the beſt right to the trees;
'that the laws were iniquitous, and ought
'not to be regarded; that although he muſt
'make a ſhew of aſſiſting that Iriſh dog of a
'ſurveyor; yet he would ſo manage it with
'the Council and Juſtices, who were under
'his influence, that they ſhould not ſuffer;
'and further to encourage them, he had
'made ſeveral of them juſtices of the peace,
'and officers of militia. That he had al-
'ſo told them not to fear any inquiry into
'their conduct; for that he would write to
'the Board of Admiralty, in their favor;
'and boaſted, that he had ſuch an influence
'over their Lordſhips, that they would be-
'lieve every thing which he ſhould ſay.
'That as they had now confeſſed the truth,
'they hoped to be forgiven, and not proſecu-
'ted in the Admiralty Court; and begged
'that this information might be kept ſecret
'till the Governor's removal, which they
'hoped would ſoon be effected. That what-
'ever might have been ſaid to the contrary,
'they could aſſure him that the Province of
'New-Hampſhire contained the largeſt num-
'ber of pine trees, and of the beſt quality,
'in all his Majeſty's American dominions;
'and, for further information, they referred
'his Lordſhip to ſeveral perſons then in Lon-
'don, particularly to Mr. Wentworth and
'Mr. Waldo; the latter of whom, was agent
'to Mr. Gulſton, for procuring maſts for the
'royal navy.'

On the receipt of this letter, Sir Charles, with the candor of a gentleman, ſent a copy of it to Mr. Belcher; who immediately or-

1739. dered an inquiry ; and it was proved to be an entire forgery ; four of the perſons whoſe names were ſubſcribed utterly diſclaimed it, and the fifth was not to be found ; no ſuch perſon being known in the town of Exeter. The evidence of this forgery was tranſmitted to England, with all poſſible expedition ; but not till it had made an impreſſion, to the diſadvantage of the Governor.

Another artifice uſed againſt him, was a memorial of Gulſton, the navy agent, and others ; complaining of the defenceleſs ſtate of the Province ; that the fort lay in ruins, and that the militia were without diſcipline ; notwithſtanding the probability of a war. This memorial was ſo artfully drawn, as to throw the blame of the neglect on the Governor, without mentioning his name ; which was intended, to prevent his obtaining a copy, and being allowed time to anſwer. Another complaint was made in the form of a letter, reſpecting the grant of the tract called Kingſwood ; in which he was repreſented, as partial to his friends, in giving them an excluſive right, to the whole of that territory, which they deemed, the unappropriated lands of the Province. Several parts of his adminiſtration were alſo complained of ; and in particular the infrequency of his viſits to New-Hampſhire. This letter was ſigned by ſix members of the Council, and a majority of the Repreſentatives.

Belcher's letters MS

Gulſton's memorial was preſented to the Lords of Council ; and by them referred to the Board of Trade, accompanied by the letter ; and though Mr. Belcher's brother and ſon applied for copies, and time to anſwer,

the requeſt was evaded; and a report was framed, in favor of putting New-Hampſhire under a ſeparate Governor. When this report came before the Privy Council, Lord Wilmington, the Preſident, ordered it back again; that the Governor might have that juſtice which his agents had aſked. By this means, he had opportunity to anſwer in his defence; that without money, the fort could not be repaired; that it was not in his power to tax the people; that he had frequently applied to the Aſſemblies for money, to repair the fort; to which they had conſtantly anſwered, that the people were too poor to be taxed; and had ſolicited him to break through his inſtructions, and allow them to iſſue paper money, without any fund for its redemption; that the militia had always been trained according to law; and that he had conſtantly viſited New-Hampſhire, and held an Aſſembly, twice in the year, unleſs prevented by ſickneſs; for which he appealed to the journals. To corroborate theſe pleas, the Governor's friends procured five petitions, in his favor, and praying for his continuance, ſigned by about five hundred people. The petitions, however, did not expreſs the ſenſe of the majority; who had been perſuaded into a belief, that they ſhould receive much benefit by a ſeparate Governor; and accordingly, a counter petition being circulated, was ſigned by about ſeven hundred of the inhabitants. 1739.

Things being thus prepared, the complaints were brought to a hearing, before the Lords of Council; who reported to the King, 'that Governor Belcher had acted with great Nov. 21. Printed brief.

1739. 'partiality, by proroguing the Aſſembly of 'New-Hampſhire, from the ſixth of July, '1737, to the fourth of Auguſt following; 'in diſobedience to his Majeſty's order in 'Council; which had been tranſmitted to 'him by the Lords of Trade, and which was 'proved to have been delivered to him, in 'due time; and, alſo by farther proroguing 'the ſaid Aſſembly, from the ſecond of Sep-'tember, 1737, to the thirteenth of October; 'whereby the Province were deprived of the 'time, intended by his Majeſty's ſaid order, 'to be allowed them, to prepare a proper and 'regular appeal; thereby endeavoring to 'fruſtrate the intention of his Majeſty's com-'miſſion.' This report was approved by the
Dec. 27. King; and from this time, it may be concluded, that Mr. Belcher's removal from the Government of New-Hampſhire was ſeriouſly contemplated. The grant of Kingſwood was alſo annulled; and he was prohibited from making any other grants of land, till the lines ſhould be determined.

This cenſure being paſſed on the Gover-
1740. nor, and the complaints being at an end; the way was prepared for a hearing of the ap-
March 5. peals, from both Provinces, reſpecting the lines. Which being had, the determination of this long controverſy was made on a plan entirely new. The ſpecial part of the decree of the Commiſſioners was ſet aſide, and no regard was had to their *doubt*, whether the new charter granted all the lands comprehended in the old. It was ſaid, that when the firſt grant was made, the country was not explored. The courſe of the river, though unknown, was ſuppoſed to be from

weſt to eaſt; therefore it was deemed equitable, that as far as the river flowed in that courſe, the parallel line at three miles diſtance ſhould extend. But as on the one hand, if by purſuing the courſe of the river, up into the country, it had been found to have a ſouthern bend, it would have been inequitable to have contracted the Maſſachuſetts grant; ſo, on the other hand, when it appeared to have a northern bend, it was equally inequitable to enlarge it. Therefore it was determined; 'that the northern boundary of 'the Province of Maſſachuſetts be, a ſimilar 'curve line, purſuing the courſe of Merri- 'mack river, at three miles diſtance, on the 'north ſide thereof, beginning at the Atlan- 'tic Ocean, and ending at a point due north 'of Patucket falls; and a ſtraight line drawn 'from thence due weſt, till it meets with his 'Majeſty's other governments.' The other parts of the decree of the Commiſſioners, reſpecting the northern line, and the payment of expenſes, were affirmed. 1740. Council Records.

This determination exceeded the utmoſt expectation of New-Hampſhire; as it gave them a tract of country, fourteen miles in breadth, and above fifty in length, more than they had ever claimed. It cut off from Maſſachuſetts, twenty eight new townſhips, between Merrimack and Connecticut rivers; beſides large tracts of vacant land, which lay intermixed; and diſtricts from ſix of their old towns, on the north ſide of the Merrimack; and if, as was then ſuppoſed, the due weſt line were to extend, to twenty miles eaſt of Hudſon's river, the reputed boundary of New-York; a vaſt tract of fertile country, on 1740.

1740. the weſtern ſide of Connecticut river; was annexed to New-Hampſhire; by which an ample ſcope was given, firſt for landed ſpeculation, and afterward for cultivation, and wealth.

Belchers' letters. When this determination was known, the politicians of Maſſachuſetts were chagrined and enraged. They talked loudly of injuſtice; and ſome of the more zealous propoſed trying the merits of the cauſe, upon the words of the charter, before the Judges in Weſtminſter Hall; who, it was expected, would upon their oath and honor reverſe the judgment, and tell the King that he had miſtaken the meaning of the royal charter. This would indeed have been a bold ſtroke. But a more moderate and puſillanimous ſcheme was adopted; which was to ſend over a new agent, to petition the King, that he would reannex to their government, the twenty eight new townſhips, which had been cut off, and the diſtricts of the ſix old towns. It was alſo thought prudent, that the whole Province ſhould not openly appear, in the affair; but that petitions ſhould be drawn, by the inhabitants of theſe towns, and that the agent ſhould be choſen by them. Accordingly town meetings were held; petitions were prepared and ſubſcribed; and THOMAS HUTCHINSON was appointed their agent, and ſent over to England; where he formed thoſe connexions, which afterwards ſerved to raiſe him, to the chair of government in his native Province.

Thomlinſon's obſervations on Maſſachuſetts petition. MS.

Thomlinſon's MS letters. About the ſame time, Governor Belcher procured a petition, from his ſix friends, of the Council of New-Hampſhire, to the King; praying that the *whole* Province might be an-

nexed to the government of Maſſachuſetts. 1740.
This matter had been long in contemplation, with theſe gentlemen; but was now produced at the moſt unfortunate time, which could have been choſen. Their petition was at once rejected. But that from the towns was kept in ſuſpenſe a long time; till Thomlinſon was prepared, to anſwer all the pleas, which Hutchinſon could advance, and proved too hard an antagoniſt for him. It was finally diſmiſſed,* becauſe it was thought, 'that it never could be for his Majeſty's ſer- Bow brief.
'vice, to annex any part of his Province of 'New-Hampſhire, as an increaſe of territory, 'to Maſſachuſetts; but rather, that it would 'be for the benefit of his ſubjects there, to be 'under a diſtinct government.'

Though Belcher's removal was ſeriouſly feared, by his beſt friends; yet he had ſo much intereſt with ſome of the Lords in high office, that they could not be prevailed with to give him up. The war, which had commenced between Britain and Spain, afforded him an opportunity, to ſignalize his zeal for the King's ſervice; and he determined to prove himſelf, a faithful ſervant to the Crown, in every inſtance; in hope that a courſe of time and fidelity might efface the impreſſions, which had been made, to his diſadvantage.

It being reſolved by the Britiſh Court, to undertake an expedition to the Iſland of Cuba; Governor Belcher, agreeably to the orders which he had received from the Duke of Newcaſtle, iſſued a proclamation, for the April 25.

* The ill ſucceſs of this agency was probably the reaſon, that Mr. Hutchinſon took no notice of it, in his Hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts.

1740. encouragement of men who would enlift in the ſervice; 'that they ſhould be ſupplied 'with arms and clothing; be in the King's 'pay; have a ſhare of the booty which ſhould 'be taken; and be ſent home, at the expira-'tion of their time of ſervice; and that his 'Majeſty would order a number of blank 'commiſſions, to be filled up by the Gover-'nor, and given to the officers, who ſhould 'command the troops, to be raiſed in the 'Provinces.' He afterwards preſſed this mat-
Auguſt 1. ter, cloſely, in his ſpeech to the Aſſembly; and urged them, to make proviſion, for one hundred men, and a tranſport, to convey them to Virginia; where all the Colony troops were to rendezvous; and thence to proceed, under the command of Col. Gooch, to the place of their deſtination. The Aſſembly voted, as much as they judged ſufficient for this purpoſe; and the Governor appointed a Captain, and gave him beating orders; but the commiſſions and arms not being ſent, according to the royal promiſe, no men could be inliſted in New-Hampſhire.
Belcher's letters. The Governor received commiſſions and arms for four companies to be raiſed in Maſſachuſetts; where he could eaſily have inliſted ten, had he been furniſhed according to the engagement. To this failure and not to any want of exertion, on his part, in either of his governments, may be aſcribed the paucity of troops raiſed in them; and yet his enemies failed not of blaming him on this account. The Repreſentatives of New-Hampſhire took this occaſion to frame a vote, diſ-
Auguſt. approving his adminiſtration; and upon
Thomlinſon's letters. this vote, their agent founded another battery, to attack his character.

In conformity to the royal determination of the boundaries, orders were given to Belcher, to apply to both his governments, to join in appointing Surveyors, to run out, and mark the lines; and that if either ſhould refuſe, the other ſhould proceed *ex parte*. The Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts delayed giving an anſwer in ſeaſon, which was conſtrued a denial. The Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire appointed three Surveyors, to execute the ſervice, who were commiſſioned by the Governor. They were directed to allow ten degrees, for the weſterly variation of the needle; and the work was performed in the months of February and March. George Mitchel ſurveyed and marked the ſimilar curve line, from the ocean, three miles north of Merrimack river, to a ſtation north of Patucket falls, in the townſhip of Dracut. Richard Hazen began at that ſtation and marked the weſt line, acroſs Connecticut river, to the ſuppoſed boundary line of New-York. Walter Bryent began the line, from the head of Salmon-falls river, and marked it about thirty miles; but was prevented from proceeding farther, partly by the breaking up of the rivers, which rendered travelling impracticable; and partly by meeting a company of Indians who were hunting, and took his men for a ſcouting party. In their return they found on one of the trees, which they had marked, 'the figure of a man's 'hand graſping a ſword;' which they interpreted, as a ſignal of defiance, from the Indians. 1741.

MS returns in the files.

Bryent's Journal.

The return of theſe lines to the Board of Trade was one of the laſt acts of Mr. Bel-

1741. cher's adminiſtration. His enemies in both governments were indefatigable in their endeavors to remove him; and by their inceſſant applications to the miniſtry; by taking every advantage of his miſtakes; by falſehood and miſrepreſentation; and finally, by the diabolical arts of forgery and perjury, they accompliſhed their views. He was ſucceeded in the government of Maſſachuſetts, by WILLIAM SHIRLEY; and in New-Hampſhire, by BENNING WENTWORTH.

Douglaſs I, 481. Hutchinſon II, 397.

At this diſtance of time, when all theſe parties are extinct, and every reader may be ſuppoſed impartial; it may ſeem rather ſtrange, that Governor Belcher ſhould meet with ſuch treatment, from the Britiſh Court, in the reign of ſo mild and juſt a Prince, as George the ſecond. That Mr. Belcher was imprudent and unguarded, in ſome inſtances, cannot be denied. He was indeed zealous to ſerve his friends, and hearken to their advice; but, by this means, he laid himſelf open, to the attacks of his enemies; to whom he paid no court, but openly treated them with contempt. His language to them was ſevere and reproachful, and he never ſpared to tell the world, what he thought of them.

This provoked them; but they had the art to conceal their reſentment, and carry on their deſigns, in ſilence, till they were ripe for execution. He had by far too mean an opinion of their abilities, and the intereſt which they had at Court; and when he knew that they had the ear of the Lords of Trade, he affected to think them, 'not very mighty 'Lords, nor able to adminiſter life and death.' He had a conſciouſneſs of the gene-

ral integrity of his own intentions; and appears to have been influenced, by motives of honor and juſtice; but he was not aware of the force of his own prejudices. It may admit of doubt, whether, conſidering the extreme delicacy of his ſituation, it were within the compaſs of human policy, to have conducted ſo as to give offence to neither of his Provinces, in the management of ſuch a controverſy; but it is certain, that his antagoniſts could not fairly fix but one real ſtigma, on his character; and that when impartially examined, can amount to no more than an imprudent ſtep, at a critical time, grounded on an undue reſentment of an affront; for to ſuppoſe that his *intention* was to fruſtrate the commiſſion, is inconſiſtent with the whole tenor of his public declarations, and private correſpondence. When his enemies met him on fair and open ground, he was always prepared to anſwer; but it was impoſſible to guard againſt their ſecret attacks. If the cauſe which they meant to ſerve was a good one, why did they employ the baſeſt means to effect it? 1741.

The cruelty and hardſhip of his caſe may appear from the following conſiderations. He had been one of the principal merchants of New-England; but, on his appointment, to the Chair of Government, quitted every other kind of buſineſs; that he might attend with punctuality, and dignity to the duties of his ſtation. By the royal inſtructions, he was reſtrained from giving his aſſent, to any grant of money, to himſelf; unleſs it ſhould be a permanent ſalary. What he received from New-Hampſhire was fixed, and paid

Belcher's letter to Doddington. MS.

1741. out of the exciſe ; but the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts could not be perſuaded, to ſettle any ſalary upon him. They made him a grant of three thouſand pounds, (worth about ſeven or eight hundred ſterling) generally once in a year, at their ſeſſion in May. He was then obliged to ſolicit leave from the King, to accept the grant, and ſign the bill ; and ſometimes could not obtain this leave till the end of the year ; once not till five days before the diſſolution of the Aſſembly. In the mean time he was obliged to ſubſiſt on his own eſtate ; and had he died within the year, the grant would have been wholly loſt, to his family. He was earneſt to obtain a general permiſſion to ſign theſe grants ; but in that caſe the clerks of offices, in England, through whoſe hands the permiſſion muſt have paſſed, would have loſt their fees. He was now in the ſixtieth year of his age ; he had a family of children and grand children, whoſe ſole dependence was on him ; and he thought with reaſon, that if his courſe of faithful ſervice, and the unworthy arts of his enemies had been duly conſidered ; the cenſure of his ſuperiors would have been leſs ſevere, than 'to deprive him of his bread 'and honor.'

Whilſt he entertained the worſt opinion poſſible of the characters of his enemies, he had a ſtrong confidence, in the juſtice of the government, before which he was accuſed. In one of his letters to his ſon, he ſays, 'I 'muſt expect no favor while Bladen is at 'the Board of Trade ; but were the devil 'there, I ſhould expect juſtice, under the 'Britiſh Conſtitution, corroborated by the

'Hanover ſucceſſion.' The event proved, 1741.
that his confidence was not ill founded. For, on being ſuperſeded, he repaired to Court; where, though his preſence was unwelcome to ſome, yet he had opportunity to bring the moſt convincing evidence of his integrity, and of the baſe deſigns of his enemies. He was ſo far reſtored to the royal favor, that he obtained a promiſe, of the firſt vacant government in America, which would be worthy of his acceptance. This proved to be the Province of New-Jerſey; where he ſpent the remaining years of his life; and where his memory has been treated with deſerved reſpect.

CHAP. XIX.

The beginning of BENNING WENTWORTH'S *adminiſtration. War opened in* Nova-Scotia. *Expedition to* Cape-Breton; *its plan, conduct and ſucceſs, with a deſcription of the iſland, and of the city of* Louiſbourg.

BENNING WENTWORTH, Eſq. ſon of the deceaſed Lieutenant Governor, was a merchant of good reputation in Portſmouth, and well beloved by the people. He had repreſented his native town in the Aſſembly for ſeveral years, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the oppoſition to Belcher. He afterward obtained a ſeat in Council; where, ſenſible of the popularity of his family, and feeling the pride of elevation, he continued the oppoſition, and joined in the meaſures which were purſued for obtaining a diſtinct Governor, without any apprehenſion that himſelf would be the perſon; till a ſeries of incidents, at firſt view unfortunate, prepared the way for his advancement to the chair.

In the courſe of his mercantile dealings, he had entered into a contract with an agent of the Court of Spain, and ſupplied him with a large quantity of the beſt oak timber; to procure which, he borrowed money in London. When he delivered the timber at Cadiz, the agent with whom he had contracted, was out of place, and the new officer declined payment. In returning to America the ſhip foundered and he was ſaved with the crew in a boat. Theſe misfortunes deranged his affairs and reduced him to a ſtate of bankruptcy. Afterward he went again to Spain,

hoping by the intereſt of Sir Benjamin Keene, the Britiſh Miniſter, to obtain his due, but his ſuit was ineffectual. About that time Thomlinſon, deſpairing of Dunbar's advancement to the government of New-Hampſhire, turned his thoughts toward Wentworth; and having procured him a letter of licenſe from his creditors in London, invited him thither. Wentworth repreſented his caſe to the Britiſh Court, complained of the injuſtice of Spain, and petitioned for redreſs. Many Britiſh merchants, who had ſuffered by the inſolence of the Spaniards, were, at the ſame time, clamorous for reparation. The miniſtry were ſtudious to avoid a war. A negociation was begun, and the Court of Spain promiſed reſtitution; but failed in the performance. War was then determined on, and all negociation ended. Diſappointed in his plea for juſtice, Wentworth made his ſuit for favor; and by the aid of Thomlinſon, who underſtood the ways of acceſs to the great, he obtained a promiſe from the Duke of Newcaſtle, that when New-Hampſhire ſhould be put under a diſtinct Governor, he ſhould have the commiſſion. The expenſe of the ſolicitation and fees, amounting to three hundred pounds ſterling, was advanced by his friends in England, and repaid by his friends in New-Hampſhire.

Thomlinſon's letters. MS.

Gentleman's Magazine, for 1739.

MS. letters of Thomlinſon and Atkinſon.

He was received in Portſmouth, after a long abſence, with great marks of popular reſpect. Among the compliments which were paid to him on that occaſion, one was, that he had been inſtrumental of 'reſcuing 'New-Hampſhire from contempt and de-'pendence.' In his firſt ſpeech to the Aſſem-

1741. Dec. 12.

1741. bly he reflected on the conduct of his prede-
Journal of Assembly. Jan. 14. ceſſor, not by name, but by implication; for not having taken early meaſures to raiſe men for the expedition againſt the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and intimated his apprehenſion, that the good intention of the Province in raiſing
1742. money for that purpoſe, would be fruſtrated, ſince the men who were willing to enter into the ſervice had enliſted in the other Provinces. He alſo complimented them, on their good faith in regard to the ſeveral emiſſions of paper money; all of which were to be called in within the preſent year. He did not forget to recommend a fixed ſalary for himſelf, not ſubject to depreciation; nor the payment of expenſes which had ariſen on account of the boundary lines; he informed them of the King's indulgence, in giving him leave to conſent to a farther emiſſion of bills of credit, to enable them to diſcharge their obligations to the Crown; provided that no injury ſhould be done to the trade of the mother country. He alſo recommended to their attention the faithful ſervices of their agents, one of whom, Rindge, was dead, and the payment of the debt due to his heirs.

The Aſſembly, in their anſwer, acknowledged the wiſdom and juſtice of the King in determining the long controverſy between them and Maſſachuſetts; but as to payment of the expenſe, they reminded him that one half ought to be payed by Maſſachuſetts, and deſired him to uſe his influence for that purpoſe. With reſpect to the failure of raiſing men for the expedition, they ſet him right by aſcribing it to the true cauſe; there being no commiſſions ſent to the Province for that

ſervice. Concerning the ſalary, they ſaid, 1742.
that as ſoon as they could know what number of inhabitants would be added to them by the ſettlement of the lines, and how the money could be raiſed, they ſhould make as ample proviſion for his honorable ſupport as their circumſtances would admit. They acknowledged the fidelity and induſtry of their agents, and profeſſed a good will to reward them; but could not then promiſe adequate compenſation.

The Aſſembly voted a ſalary of two hundred and fifty pounds, proclamation money, MS acts.
to the Governor, funded as uſual on the exciſe; and having obtained the royal licenſe for emitting twenty-five thouſand pounds on loan for ten years, they granted the Governor two hundred and fifty pounds more, to be paid annually out of the intereſt of the loan. When this fund failed, they made annual grants for his 'further and more ample ſupport,' and generally added ſomething for houſe-rent. They preſented their agent Thomlinſon one hundred pounds ſterling, for his faithful ſervices; but what they did for the heirs of Rindge does not appear.

After Mr. Wentworth was quietly ſeated 1743.
in the chair of government, an opportunity preſented to advance his intereſt ſtill farther. For the ſum of two thouſand pounds ſterling, Dunbar was prevailed on to reſign the ſurveyorſhip of the woods, and Thomlinſon negociated an appointment in favor of Wentworth, with a ſalary of eight hundred pounds ſterling, out of which he was to maintain four Deputies. But to obtain this office, he was obliged to 'reſt his claim on

1743. 'the Crown of Spain for fifty-ſix thouſand 'dollars.'

Theſe appointments of Mr. Wentworth gave the oppoſers of the former adminiſtration great cauſe of triumph; but the ſpirit of oppoſition had only changed ſides. It was hoped and expected by ſome, that Mr. Belcher, by going to England, would not only remove the ill impreſſions, which the malice of his enemies had made; but return to his former ſtation. Others, who had no predilection for Belcher, looked with envy on the good fortune of Wentworth, and aimed to undermine him; at the ſame time courting the friends of the former adminiſtration to join in their meaſures. Theſe things were managed with ſecrecy, and a few hints only are left as evidence of the exiſtence of deſigns, which were never brought to maturity.

It was one of the royal inſtructions to Governors, that in any caſes of difficulty or ſudden emergency, they ſhould communicate with each other. Mr. Wentworth had a high opinion of the abilities of the new Governor of Maſſachuſetts, and there being a ſtrict friendſhip between them, conſulted him on all occaſions. Shirley was gratified by this deference, and knew how to make his advantage of it. Thus, though New-Hampſhire was under a Governor diſtinct from that of Maſſachuſetts, a point which had long been contended for; yet the difference was not ſo great in reality as in appearance. This was a circumſtance not much known at that time. The advice which Shirley gave him was, in general, ſalutary and judicious.

MS letters of Wentworth and Shirley.

The war which had been kindled between Britain and Spain, extended its flame over a great part of Europe; and when France became involved in it, the American Colonies were more nearly interested, because of the proximity of the French, and of the Indians, who were in their interest. War is so natural to savages, that they need but little to excite them to it. An Indian war was a necessary appendage of a war with France. The scene of both was opened in Nova-Scotia. 1744.

That Province had been alternately claimed and possessed by the English and French for more than a century. Ever since the peace of Utrecht it had been subject to the Crown of Britain, and the French Inhabitants who were under a kind of patriarchal government of their priests, and devoted to the French interest, were kept in awe, partly by the fear of having their dikes destroyed, which they had erected to prevent the sea from overflowing their fields; and partly by a British garrison at Annapolis where a Governor and Council resided. The Indian tribes maintained their native independence, though they were attached to the French by religious, as well as interested obligations. Canseau, an island on the north-eastern part of Nova-Scotia, was in possession of the English. It was resorted to by the fishermen of New-England. It was defended by a block-house and garrisoned by a detachment of troops from Annapolis. The island of Cape-Breton was possessed by the French, and lay between the English of Canseau and those of Newfoundland. This was

MS of Charles Morris

1744. too near a neighbourhood for enemies, especially when both were purſuing one object, the fiſhery.

March 15. The French at Cape-Breton having received early intelligence of the declaration of war; immediately reſolved on the deſtruction of the Engliſh fiſhery at Canſeau. Du-

May 13. queſnel, the Governor, ſent Duvivier with a few ſmall armed veſſels, and about nine hundred men, who ſeized and took poſſeſſion of the iſland, burned the houſes, and made priſoners of the garriſon and inhabitants. This was done, before the news of war had arrived in New-England. It was followed by an attempt upon Placentia, in Newfoundland, which miſcarried. An attack was alſo made upon Annapolis, the garriſon of which was reinforced by ſeveral companies of militia and rangers from Maſſachuſetts, and the enemy were obliged to retire. The Indians of Nova-Scotia aſſiſted the French in this attack; which, with ſome other inſolencies committed by them, occaſioned a declaration

Oct. 19. of war, by the government of Maſſachu-

Douglas I. 318. ſetts, againſt them, with a premium for ſcalps and priſoners.

Theſe proceedings of the French were raſh and precipitate. They were not prepared for extenſive operations; nor had they any orders from their court to undertake them. What they had done, ſerved to irritate and alarm the neighbouring Engliſh Colonies, and ſhew them their danger in the moſt conſpicuous manner. Their ſea coaſt, navigation and fiſhery lay expoſed to continual inſults. Their frontier ſettlements on the weſtern ſide were but eighty miles diſtant

from the French fort on Lake Champlain. The Indians who lay between them, had not yet taken up the hatchet; but it was expected that encouragement would be given them by the Governor of Canada, to inſult the frontiers. Several new ſettlements were wholly broken up; and many of the women and children of other frontier places retired to the old towns for ſecurity. 1744.

In the autumn, Duqueſnel the French Governor of Cape-Breton, died, and was ſucceeded in the command by Duchambon, who had not ſo good a military character. Duvivier went to France to ſolicit a force to carry on the war in Nova-Scotia in the enſuing ſpring. The ſtoreſhips, expected from France at Cape-Breton, came on the coaſt ſo late in the fall; and the winter there ſet in ſo early and fierce, as to keep them out of port, and drive them off to the Weſt-Indies. The captive garriſon of Canſeau, with other priſoners, who had been taken at ſea, and carried into Louiſburg, were ſent to Boſton. From them, as well as from other informants, Governor Shirley obtained ſuch intelligence of the ſtate of that iſland and fortreſs, as induced him to form the project of attacking it. But before we open this romantic and hazardous ſcene, it is neceſſary to give ſome account of the place which was to be the theatre of operations. Prince and Douglaſs.

The Iſland of Cape-Breton, ſo denominated from one of its capes, lies between the forty-fifth and forty-ſeventh degrees of north latitude; at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from Cape Ray, the ſouthweſtern extremity of Newfoundland. It is ſeparated from the Charlevoix.

1744. main land of Nova-Scotia by a narrow ſtrait, ſix leagues in length, the navigation of which is ſafe for a ſhip of forty guns. The greateſt length of the iſland, from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt is about fifty leagues and its greateſt breadth thirty-three. It is abont eighty-eight leagues in circuit as ſeamen eſtimate diſtances. Its general form is triangular, but it is indented by many deep bays.

MS. of Sir William Pepperell.

The ſoil of this iſland is by no means inviting. It is either rocky and mountainous, or elſe cold and boggy ; and much leſs capable of improvement than Nova-Scotia. Its only valuable productions are of the foſſil kind, pit-coal and plaſter. Its atmoſphere in the ſpring and ſummer is an almoſt continual fog, which prevents the rays of the ſun from perfecting vegetation. Its winter is ſevere and of long continuance ; and as the iſland forms an eddy to the current which ſets through the gulf of St. Lawrence, its harbours are filled with large quantities of floating ice, with which its ſhores are inviron-ed till late in the ſpring.

State of Trade by Otis Little, p. 18 39.

Much has been ſaid by French and Engliſh writers on the great importance and advantage of this iſland, and ſome political and temporary purpoſes were doubtleſs to be anſwered by ſuch publications ; but in fact the only real importance of Cape-Breton was derived from its central ſituation, and the convenience of its ports. On the north and weſt ſides it is ſteep and inacceſſible ; but the ſoutheaſtern ſide is full of fine bays and harbours, capable of receiving and ſecuring ſhips of any burden ; and, being ſituated between Canada, France and the Weſt-Indies, it was

extremely favorable to the French commerce. 1744.
It was not so good a station for the fishery as several parts of Nova-Scotia and Newfoundland. The greater part of the French fishery was prosecuted elsewhere; and they could buy fish at Canseau, cheaper than they could cure it at Cape-Breton. Hutchinson

Whilst the French held possession of the coasts of Nova-Scotia and Newfoundland, this island was neglected; but after they had ceded these places to the Crown of England, and the Crown of England had ceded this island to them by the treaty of Utrecht (1713) they began to see its value. Instead of giving so much attention to the fur trade of Canada, as they had before done, they contemplated building a fortified town on this island, as a security to their navigation and fishery. For this purpose they chose a fine harbour on the south-east side of the island, formerly called English harbour; where they erected their fortifications, and called the place Louisbourg. Charlevoix, Douglass, Rolt, Prince.

The harbour of Louisbourg lies in latitude 45° 55′; its entrance is about four hundred yards wide. The anchorage is uniformly safe, and ships may run ashore on a soft muddy bottom. The depth of water at the entrance is from nine to twelve fathoms. The harbour lies open to the south-east. Upon a neck of land on the south side of the harbour was built the town, two miles and a quarter in circumference; fortified in every accessible part with a rampart of stone, from thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. A space of about two hundred yards was left without a rampart, on Abbe Raynal.

1744. the ſide next to the ſea ; it was encloſed by a ſimple dike and a line of pickets. The ſea was ſo ſhallow in this place that it made only a narrow channel, inacceſſible from its numerous reefs to any ſhipping whatever. The ſide fire from the baſtions ſecured this ſpot from an attack. There were ſix baſtions and three batteries, containing embraſures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon, of which ſixty-five only were mounted, and ſixteen mortars. On an iſland at the entrance of the harbour was planted a battery of thirty cannon, carrying twenty-eight pounds ſhot ; and at the bottom of the harbour, directly oppoſite to the entrance, was the grand or royal battery of twenty-eight cannon, forty-two pounders, and two eighteen pounders. On a high cliff, oppoſite to the iſland battery, ſtood a light-houſe ; and within this point, at the north-eaſt part of the harbour, was a careening wharf ſecure from all winds, and a magazine of naval ſtores.

The town was regularly laid out in ſquares. The ſtreets were broad; the houſes moſtly of wood, but ſome of ſtone. On the weſt ſide, near the rampart, was a ſpacious citadel, and a large parade ; on one ſide of which were the Governor's apartments. Under the rampart were caſemates to receive the women and children during a ſiege. The entrance of the town on the land ſide was at the weſt gate, over a draw bridge, near to which was a circular battery, mounting ſixteen guns of twenty-four pounds ſhot.

Theſe works had been twenty-five years in building ; and though not finiſhed, had coſt the Crown not leſs than thirty millions

of livres. The place was ſo ſtrong as to be called 'the Dunkirk of America.' It was, in peace, a ſafe retreat for the ſhips of France bound homeward from the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies; and in war, a ſource of diſtreſs to the northern Engliſh Colonies; its ſituation being extremely favorable for privateers to ruin their fiſhery and interrupt their coaſting and foreign trade; for which reaſons, the reduction of it was an object as deſirable to them, as that of Carthage was to the Romans. 1744.

In the autumn, Shirley wrote to the Britiſh miniſtry, repreſenting the danger of an attack on Nova-Scotia, from the French, in the enſuing ſpring; and praying for ſome naval aſſiſtance. Theſe letters he ſent by Capt. Ryal, an officer of the garriſon, which had been taken at Canſeau, who, 'from his particular knowledge of Louiſbourg, and of the 'great conſequence of the acquiſition of 'Cape-Breton, and the preſervation of Nova-'Scotia, he hoped would be of conſiderable 'ſervice to the northern Colonies, with the 'Lords of the admiralty.' Thus early did Shirley conceive and communicate to Wentworth his great deſign; and the moſt prudent ſtep which he took in this whole affair was to ſolicit help from England. His petition, ſupported by that worthy officer, was ſo favorably received by the miniſtry, that as early as the beginning of January, orders were diſpatched to Commodore Warren, then in the Weſt-Indies, to proceed to the northward in the ſpring, and employ ſuch a force as might be ſufficient to protect the northern Colonies in their trade and fiſhery, and diſtreſs the enemy; and for this purpoſe to con-

Nov. 10. Shirley's letters to Wentworth. MS.

MS copy of D. Newcaſtle's letter, Jan. 3.

1744. ſult with Governor Shirley. Orders of the ſame date were written to Shirley, incloſed to Warren, directing him to aſſiſt the King's ſhips with tranſports, men and proviſions. Theſe orders, though extremely favorable to the deſign, were totally unknown in New-England, till the middle of April following, before which time the expedition was completely formed.

Douglaſs, Bollan, Hutchinſon.

It has been ſaid, that a plan of this famous enterpriſe, was firſt ſuggeſted by William Vaughan, a ſon of Lieutenant Governor Vaughan of New-Hampſhire. Several other perſons have claimed the like merit. How far each one's information or advice, contributed toward forming the deſign, cannot now be determined. Vaughan was largely concerned in the fiſhery on the eaſtern coaſt of Maſſachuſetts. He was a man of good underſtanding, but of a daring, enterpriſing and tenacious mind, and one who thought of no obſtacles to the accompliſhment of his views. An inſtance of his temerity is ſtill remembered. He had equipped, at Portſmouth, a number of boats to carry on his fiſhery at Montinicus. On the day appointed for ſailing, in the month of March, though the wind was ſo boiſterous that experienced mariners deemed it impoſſible for ſuch veſſels to carry ſail, he went on board one, and ordered the others to follow. One was loſt at the mouth of the river, the reſt arrived with much difficulty, but in a ſhort time, at the place of their deſtination. Vaughan had not been at Louiſburg; but had learned from fiſhermen and others, ſomething of the ſtrength and ſituation of the place; and noth-

ing being in his view impracticable, which 1744.
he had a mind to accompliſh, he conceived a deſign to take the city by ſurpriſe; and even propoſed going over the walls in the winter on the drifts of ſnow. This idea of a ſurpriſal forcibly ſtruck the mind of Shirley, and prevailed with him to haſten his preparations, before he could have any anſwer or orders from England.

In the beginning of January he requeſt- 1745.
ed of the members of the General Court, that they would lay themſelves under an oath of ſecreſy, to receive a propoſal from him, of very great importance. This was the firſt requeſt of the kind which had ever been made to a legiſlative body in the Colonies. They readily took the oath, and he communicated to them the plan which he had formed of attacking Louiſbourg. The ſecret was kept for ſome days; till an honeſt member, who performed the family devotion at his lodgings, inadvertently diſcovered it by praying for a bleſſing on the attempt. At the firſt deliberation, the propoſal was rejected; but by the addreſs of the Governor and the invincible perſeverance of Vaughan, a petition from the merchants concerned in the fiſhery, was brought into Court, which revived the affair; and it was finally carried in the affirmative by a majority of *one* voice, in the abſence of ſeveral members who were Jan. 26.
known to be againſt it. Circular letters were immediately diſpatched to all the Colonies, as far as Pennſylvania, requeſting their aſſiſtance, and an embargo on their ports.

With one of theſe letters, Vaughan rode Feb. 1.
expreſs to Portſmouth, where the Aſſembly

1745. was ſitting. Governor Wentworth immediately laid the matter before them, and propoſed a conference of the two Houſes to be held on the next day. The Houſe of Repreſentatives having caught the enthuſiaſm of Vaughan, were impatient of delay, and deſired that it might be held immediately. It was accordingly held, and the Committee reported in favor of the expedition; eſtimated the expenſe at four thouſand pounds, and deſired the Governor to iſſue a proclamation for inliſting two hundred and fifty men, at twenty-five ſhillings per month, one month's pay to be advanced; they alſo recommended that military ſtores and tranſports ſhould be provided, and that ſuch preparations ſhould be made as that the whole might be ready by the beginning of March. All this was inſtantly agreed to, on condition that proper methods could be found to pay the charges. This could be done in no other way than by a new emiſſion of bills of credit, contrary to the letter of royal inſtructions. But, by the help of Shirley, a way was found to ſurmount this difficulty; for on the ſame day, he wrote to Wentworth, informing him that he had, in anſwer to repeated ſolicitations, obtained a relaxation of his inſtructions relative to bills of credit, ſo far, as to have leave to conſent to ſuch emiſſions as the exigencies of war might require; and adviſing him, that conſidering the occaſion, it was probable, his conſenting to an emiſſion would rather be approved than cenſured by his ſuperiors. The next day, he wrote again, aſſuring him that he might ſafely do it, provided that the ſum to be emitted, were ſolely

Feb. 2. Printed Journal of this ſeſſion.

Private MS letters of Shirley.

Feb. 3.

appropriated to the ſervice of the expedition. 1745.
He alſo ſent him a copy of the inſtruction, enjoining him to let no perſon know that he had ſent it. Shirley himſelf had conſented to an emiſſion of fifty thouſand pounds, to be drawn in by a tax in the years 1747 and 1748.

The Houſe of Repreſentatives paſſed a Feb. 5.
vote for an emiſſion of ten thouſand pounds toward defraying the charge of the expedition and farther carrying on the war, and the ſupport of government; to be drawn in by taxes in ten annual payments, to begin in 1755. The Council objected and ſaid, that the grant ſhould be wholly appropriated to the expedition and the payments ſhould begin in 1751. The Houſe adhered to their vote. The Governor interpoſed, and an altercation took place, which continued ſeveral days. The Governor adjourned the Aſſembly till he could again aſk Shirley's advice and receive his anſwer. At length the Houſe altered their vote, and appointed the year 1751 for drawing in the money; augmenting the ſum to thirteen thouſand pounds, and at the Governor's expreſs deſire, they publicly aſſured him that they 'could not 'find out any other way to carry on the ex-'pedition, or in any degree ſhorten the peri-'od for bringing in the money.' This was done to ſerve as an apology for the Governor's conſenting to the bill, notwithſtanding he had no liberty to recede from his inſtructions; and thus, the matter being compro- Feb. 13.
miſed, he gave his conſent.

During this tedious interval, a report was ſpread, that the Houſe had refuſed to raiſe

1745. men and money for the expedition; and the author of the report was ſought out and called to account by the Houſe for his miſbehaviour. The next day they altered their terms of inliſtment, conformably to thoſe offered in Maſſachuſetts, and by the 17th of February, two hundred and fifty men were inliſted for the ſervice.

Feb. 17.

The perſon appointed to command the expedition was WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, Eſq. of Kittery, Colonel of a regiment of militia; a merchant of unblemiſhed reputation and engaging manners, extenſively known both in Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire, and very popular. Theſe qualities were abſolutely neceſſary in the Commander of an army of volunteers, his own countrymen, who were to quit their domeſtic connexions and employments, and engage in a hazardous enterpriſe, which none of them, from the higheſt to the loweſt, knew how to conduct. Profeſſional ſkill and experience were entirely out of the queſtion; had theſe qualities been neceſſary, the expedition muſt have been laid aſide; for there was no perſon in New-England, in theſe reſpects qualified for the command. Fidelity, reſolution and popularity muſt ſupply the place of military talents; and Pepperrell was poſſeſſed of theſe. It was neceſſary that the men ſhould know and love their General, or they would not inliſt under him.*

After this appointment was made, and

Shirley's private letters. MS.

* The following private note was ſent from Boſton to Pepperrell, whilſt at Louiſbourg, and found among his papers.

'You was made General, being a popular man, moſt likely to raiſe ſol-'diers ſooneſt. The expedition was calculated to ESTABLISH Sh—, and 'make his creature W. Governor of Cape-Breton, which is to be a place 'of refuge to him from his creditors. Beware of ſnakes in the graſs, and 'mark their hiſſing.

while it was uncertain whether the Assembly of New-Hampshire would agree with the Governor in raising money for the expedition, Shirley proposed to Wentworth, the raising of men in New-Hampshire, to be in the pay of Massachusetts, and in the letter which he wrote on that occasion paid him the following compliment. 'It would have been 'an infinite satisfaction to me, and done great 'honor to the expedition, if your limbs would 'have permitted you to take the chief com-'mand.' Wentworth was charmed with the idea, and forgetting his gout, made an offer of his personal service; but not till after the Assembly had agreed to his terms and the money bill was passed. Shirley was then obliged to answer him thus. 'Upon com-'municating your offer to two or three gen-'tlemen, in whose prudence and judgment I 'most confide, I found them clearly of opin-'ion, that any alteration of the present com-'mand would be attended with great risque, 'both with respect to the Assembly and the 'soldiers being entirely disgusted.' 1745.

Before Pepperrell accepted the command, he asked the opinion of the famous George Whitefield, who was then itinerating and preaching in New-England. Whitefield told him, that he did not think the scheme very promising; that the eyes of all would be on him; that if it should not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain would reproach him; and if it should succeed, many would regard him with envy, and endeavor to eclipse his glory; that he ought therefore to go with 'a single eye,' and then he would find his strength proportioned to his necessi- Whitefield's letters, No. 572.

1745. ty. Henry Sherburne, the Commiſſary of New-Hampſhire, another of Whitefield's friends, preſſed him to favor the expedition and give a motto for the flag; to which, after ſome heſitation, he conſented. The motto was, '*Nil deſperandum Chriſto duce.*' This gave the expedition the air of a cruſade, and many of his followers inliſted. One of them, a Chaplain, carried on his ſhoulder a hatchet, with which he intended to deſtroy the images in the French churches.

There are certain latent ſparks in human nature, which, by a colliſion of cauſes, are ſometimes brought to light; and when once excited, their operations are not eaſily controled. In undertaking any thing hazardous, there is a neceſſity for extraordinary vigor of mind, and a degree of confidence and fortitude, which ſhall raiſe us above the dread of danger, and diſpoſe us to run a riſque which the cold maxims of prudence would forbid. The people of New-England have at various times ſhewn ſuch an enthuſiaſtic ardor, which has been excited by the example of their anceſtors and their own expoſed ſituation. It was never more apparent, and perhaps never more neceſſary, than on occaſion of this expedition. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that ſeveral circumſtances, which did not depend on human foreſight, greatly favored this undertaking.

The winters in this country are often ſevere, but the winter in which this expedition was planned, and particularly the month of February, was very mild. The harbours and rivers were open, and the weather was in general ſo pleaſant, that every kind of la-

bor could be done abroad. The fruitfulneſs 1745.
of the preceding ſeaſon had made proviſions plenty. The Indians had not yet moleſted the frontiers; and though ſome of them had heard that an expedition againſt Cape Breton was in hand, and carried the news of it to Canada, ſuch an attempt was ſo improbable, that the French gave no credit to the report, and thoſe in Nova-Scotia did not receive the leaſt intelligence of the preparations. Douglaſs obſerves, that 'ſome guardian angel pre-'ſerved the troops from taking the ſmall pox,' which appeared in Boſton about the time of their embarkation, and was actually imported in one of the ſhips which was taken into the ſervice. A concurrence of happy incidents brought together every Britiſh ſhip of war from the ports of the American continent and iſlands, till they made a formidable naval force, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, under the command of an active, judicious and experienced officer. On the other hand, the garriſon of Louiſbourg was diſcontented and mutinous; they were in want of proviſions and ſtores; they had no knowledge of the deſign formed againſt them; their ſhores were ſo environed with ice, that no ſupplies could arrive early from France, and thoſe which came afterward, were intercepted and taken by our cruiſers. In ſhort, 'if any one circumſtance 'had taken a wrong turn on our ſide, and if 'any one circumſtance had not taken a Douglaſs I. 336.
'wrong turn on the French ſide, the expedi-'tion muſt have miſcarried.'

In the undertaking and proſecuting of an enterpriſe ſo novel to the people of New-

1745. England, it is amuſing to ſee how many projects were invented; what a variety of advice was given from all quarters, and what romantic expectations were formed by adviſers and adventurers. During the inliſtment, one of the officers was heard to ſay with great ſobriety, that he intended to carry with him three ſhirts, one of which ſhould be ruffled, becauſe he expected that the General would give him the command of the city, when it ſhould be taken. An ingenious and benevolent clergyman, preſented to the General a plan for the incampment of the army, the opening of trenches and the placing of batteries before the city. To prevent danger to the troops from ſubterraneous mines, he propoſed, that two confidential perſons, attended by a guard, ſhould, during the night, approach the walls; that one ſhould with a beetle ſtrike the ground, while the other ſhould lay his ear to it, and obſerve whether the ſound was hollow, and that a mark ſhould be ſet on all places ſuſpected. Another gentleman of equal ingenuity, ſent the General a model of a flying bridge, to be uſed in ſcaling the walls of Louiſbourg. It was ſo light, that twenty men could carry it on their ſhoulders to the wall, and raiſe it in one minute. The apparatus for raiſing it conſiſted of four blocks, and two hundred fathoms of rope. It was to be floored with boards, wide enough for eight men to march abreaſt; and to prevent danger from the enemy's fire, it might be covered with raw hides. This bridge, it was ſaid, might be erected againſt any part of the wall, even where no breach had been made; and it was ſuppoſed

Private MS letters.

that a thouſand men might paſs over it in four minutes. 1745.

But the moſt extraordinary project of all, was Shirley's ſcheme for taking the city by ſurpriſe, in the firſt night after the arrival of the troops, and before any Britiſh naval force could poſſibly come to their aſſiſtance. It is thus delineated in a confidential letter which he wrote to Wentworth, when he urged him to ſend the New-Hampſhire troops to Boſton, to proceed thence with the fleet of tranſports. 'The ſucceſs of our ſcheme for March 2.
'ſurpriſing Louiſbourg will entirely depend
'on the execution of the firſt night, after the
'arrival of our forces. For this purpoſe it
'is neceſſary, that the whole fleet ſhould
'make Chappeau-rouge point juſt at the
'ſhutting in of the day, when they cannot
'eaſily be diſcovered, and from thence puſh
'into the bay, ſo as to have all the men
'landed before midnight; (the landing of
'whom, it is computed by Capt. Durell and
'Mr. Baſtide, will take up three hours at
'leaſt.) After which, the forming of the
'four ſeveral corps, to be employed in at-
'tempting to ſcale the walls of Louiſbourg,
'near the eaſt gate, fronting the ſea, and
'the weſt gate, fronting the harbour; to
'cover the retreat of the two beforemen-
'tioned parties in caſe of a repulſe; and,
'to attack the grand battery; (which attack
'muſt be made at the ſame time with the two
'other attacks) will take up two hours more
'at leaſt. After theſe four bodies are form-
'ed, their march to their reſpective poſts
'from whence they are to make their attacks
'and ſerve as a cover to the retreat, will take

1745. 'up another two hours; which, ſuppoſing the 'tranſports to arrive in Chappeau-rouge bay 'at nine o'clock in the evening, and not be-'fore, as it will be neceſſary for them to do, 'in order to land and march under cover of 'the night, will bring them to four in the 'morning, being day break, before they be-'gin the attack, which will be full late for 'them to begin. Your Excellency will from 'hence perceive how critical an affair, the 'time of the fleet's arrival in Chappeau-rouge 'bay is, and how neceſſary it is to the ſuc-'ceſs of our principal ſcheme, that the fleet 'ſhould arrive there, in a body, at that preciſe 'hour.'

It is eaſy to perceive that this plan was contrived by a perſon totally unſkilled in the arts of navigation and of war. The coaſt of Cape-Breton was dangerous and inhoſpitable, the ſeaſon of the year rough and tempeſtuous, and the air a continual fog; yet, a fleet of an hundred veſſels, after ſailing nearly two hundred leagues (for by this plan they were not to ſtop) muſt make a certain point of land 'at a preciſe hour,' and enter an unknown bay, in an evening. The troops were to land in the dark, amidſt a violent ſurf, on a rocky ſhore; to march through a thicket and bog three miles, to the city, and ſome of them a mile beyond it to the royal battery. Men who had never been in action, were to perform ſervices, which the moſt experienced veteran would think of with dread; to pull down pickets with grappling irons, and ſcale the walls of a regular fortification, with ladders, which were afterward found to be too ſhort by ten feet; all

in the ſpace of twelve hours from their firſt making the land, and nine hours from their debarkation. This part of the plan was prudently concealed from the troops. 1745.

The forces which New-Hampſhire furniſhed for this expedition, were three hundred and fifty men, including the crew of an armed ſloop which convoyed the tranſports and ſerved as a cruiſer. They were formed into a regiment, conſiſting of eight companies, and were under the command of Col. Samuel Moore. The ſloop was commanded by Capt. John Fernald; her crew conſiſted of thirty men. The regiment, ſloop and tranſports, were, by Governor Wentworth's written inſtructions to the General, put under his command. Beſides theſe, a body of one hundred and fifty men was inliſted in New-Hampſhire and aggregated to the regiment in the pay of Maſſachuſetts. Thus New-Hampſhire employed five hundred men; about one eighth part of the whole land force.* In theſe men, there was ſuch an ardor for action, and ſuch a dread of delay, that it was impracticable to put them ſo far out of their courſe, as to join the fleet at Boſton. Shirley therefore altered the plan, and appointed a rendezvous at Canſeau; where the forces of New-Hampſhire arrived, two days before the General and his other troops from Boſton. March 32.

* Wentworth's letters, MS.

* In the introductory part of Dr. Ramſay's elegant hiſtory of the American Revolution (page 34) it is ſaid, that 'this enterpriſe was undertaken by the SOLE authority of the Legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts.' This is not ſufficiently accurate. It originated in Maſſachuſetts; but the Colonies of New-Hampſhire, Rhode Iſland and Connecticut, by their legiſlative authority, furniſhed troops and ſtores. New-York ſent a ſupply of artillery, and Pennſylvania of proviſions; but the troops from Rhode-Iſland, and the proviſions from Pennſylvania, did not arrive till after the ſurrender of the city.

1745. The inſtructions which Pepperrell received from Shirley, were conformed to the plan which he had communicated to Wentworth, but much more particular and circumſtantial. He was ordered to proceed to Canſeau, there to build a block-houſe and battery, and leave two companies in garriſon, and to depoſit the ſtores which might not immediately be wanted by the army. Thence he was to ſend a detachment to the village of St. Peters, on the iſland of Cape-Breton and deſtroy it; to *prevent* any intelligence which might be carried to Louiſbourg; for which purpoſe alſo, the armed veſſels were to cruiſe before the harbour. The whole fleet was to ſail from Canſeau, ſo as to arrive in Chappeau-rouge bay about nine o'clock in the evening. The troops were to land in four diviſions, and proceed to the aſſault before morning. If the plan for the ſurpriſal ſhould fail, he had particular directions where and how to land, march, encamp, attack and defend; to hold councils and keep records; and to ſend intelligence to Boſton by certain veſſels retained for the purpoſe, which veſſels were to ſtop at Caſtle William, and there receive the Governor's orders. Several other veſſels were appointed to cruiſe between Canſeau and the camp, to convey orders, tranſport ſtores, and *catch fiſh* for the army. To cloſe theſe inſtructions, after the moſt minute detail of duty, the General was finally 'left to act upon unforeſeen emergencies according to his diſcretion;' which, in the opinion of military gentlemen, is accounted the moſt rational part of the whole. Such was the plan, for

Original inſtructions, in MS.

the reduction of a regularly conſtructed for- 1745.
treſs, drawn by a lawyer, to be executed by a merchant, at the head of a body of huſbandmen and mechanics; animated indeed by ardent patriotiſm, but deſtitute of profeſſional ſkill and experience. After they had embarked, the hearts of many began to fail. Some repented that they had voted for the expedition, or promoted it; and the moſt thoughtful were in the greateſt perplexity. Prince's thankſgiving ſermon, page 25.

The troops were detained at Canſeau, three weeks, waiting for the ice which invironed the iſland of Cape-Breton, to be diſſolved. They were all this time within view of St. Peters, but were not diſcovered. Their proviſions became ſhort; but they were ſupplied by prizes taken by the cruiſers. Among others, the New-Hampſhire ſloop took a ſhip from Martinico, and retook one of the tranſports, which ſhe had taken the day before. At length, to their great joy, Commodore Warren, in the Superbe, of ſixty guns, with three other ſhips of forty guns each, arrived at Canſeau, and having held a conſultation with the General, proceeded to cruiſe before Louiſbourg. The General having ſent the New-Hampſhire ſloop, to cover a detachment which deſtroyed the village of St. Peters, and ſcattered the inhabitants, ſailed with the whole fleet; but inſtead of making Chappeau-rouge point in the evening, the wind falling ſhort, they made it at the dawn of the next morning; and their appearance in the bay, gave the firſt notice to the French, of a deſign formed againſt them. Pepperrell's letters to Shirley. April 23. April 29.

The intended ſurpriſal being thus happily fruſtrated, the next thing after landing the

1745. troops was to inveſt the city. Vaughan, the adventurer from New-Hampſhire, had the rank and pay of a Lieutenant Colonel, but refuſed to have a regular command. He was appointed one of the Council of War, and was ready for any ſervice which the General might think ſuited to his genius. He conducted the firſt column through the woods, within ſight of the city, and ſaluted it with three cheers. He headed a detachment, conſiſting chiefly of the New-Hampſhire troops, and marched to the north-eaſt part of the harbour, in the night; where they burned the ware-houſes, containing the naval ſtores, and ſtaved a large quantity of wine and brandy. The ſmoke of this fire being driven by the wind into the grand battery, ſo terrified the French, that they abandoned it and retired to the city, after having ſpiked the guns and cut the halliards of the flag-ſtaff. The next morning as Vaughan was returning, with thirteen men only, he crept up the hill which overlooked the battery, and obſerved, that the chimnies of the barrack were without ſmoke, and the ſtaff without a flag. With a bottle of brandy, which he had in his pocket, (though he never drank ſpirituous liquors) he hired one of his party, a Cape Cod Indian, to crawl in at an embraſure and open the gate. He then wrote to the General, theſe words, 'May it 'pleaſe your honor, to be informed, that by 'the grace of God, and the courage of thir-'teen men, I entered the royal battery, about 'nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforce-'ment, and a flag.' Before either could arrive, one of the men climbed up the ſtaff, with

May 1.

May 2.

Original MS.

a red coat in his teeth, which he faſtened by a nail to the top. This piece of triumphant vanity alarmed the city, and immediately an hundred men were diſpatched in boats to retake the battery. But Vaughan, with his ſmall party, on the naked beach, and in the face of a ſmart fire from the city and the boats, kept them from landing, till the reinforcement arrived. In every duty of fatigue or ſanguine adventure, he was always ready; and the New-Hampſhire troops, animated by the ſame enthuſiaſtic ardor, partook of all the labors and dangers of the ſiege. They were employed for fourteen nights ſucceſſively, in drawing cannon from the landing place to the camp, through a moraſs; and their Lieutenant Colonel Meſſervè, being a ſhip carpenter, conſtructed ſledges, on which the cannon were drawn, when it was found that their wheels were buried in the mire. The men, with ſtraps over their ſhoulders, and ſinking to their knees in mud, performed labor beyond the power of oxen; which labor could be done only in the night or in a foggy day; the place being within plain view and random ſhot of the enemy's walls. They were much diſappointed and chagrined, when they found that theſe meritorious ſervices were not more diſtinctly acknowledged in the accounts which were ſent to England, and afterwards publiſhed. 1745. Went-worth's letters, MS.

In the unfortunate attempt on the iſland battery by four hundred volunteers from different regiments, the New-Hampſhire troops were very active. When it was determined to erect a battery on the light-houſe cliff; two companies of them (Maſon's and May 26.

1745. Fernald's) were employed in that laborious ſervice, under cover of their armed ſloop; and when a propoſal was made for a general aſſault by ſea and land, Colonel Moore, who had been an experienced ſea commander, offered to go on board the Vigilant, with his whole regiment, and lead the attack, if in caſe of ſucceſs he might be confirmed in the command of the ſhip; but when this was denied, moſt of the men who were fit for duty, readily went on board the Princeſs Mary, to act as marines on that occaſion.

Douglaſs I, 352. It has been ſaid, that 'this ſiege was carried on in a tumultuary, random manner, reſembling a Cambridge commencement.' The remark is in a great meaſure true. Though the buſineſs of the Council of War was conducted with all the formality of a legiſlative aſſembly; though orders were iſſued by the General, and returns made by the officers at the ſeveral poſts; yet the want of diſcipline was too viſible in the camp. Thoſe who were on the ſpot, have frequently in my hearing, laughed at the recital of their own irregularities, and expreſſed their admiration when they reflected on the almoſt miraculous preſervation of the army from deſtruction. They indeed preſented a formidable front to the enemy; but the rear was a ſcene of confuſion and frolic. While ſome were on duty at the trenches, others were racing, wreſtling, pitching quoits, firing at marks or at birds, or running after ſhot from the enemy's guns, for which they received a bounty, and the ſhot were ſent back to the city. The ground was ſo uneven and the people ſo ſcattered, that the French could

form no eſtimate of their numbers; nor could they learn it from the priſoners, taken at the iſland battery, who on their examination, as if by previous agreement, repreſented the number to be vaſtly greater than it was. The garriſon of Louiſbourg had been ſo mutinous before the ſiege, that the officers could not truſt the men to make a ſortie, leſt they ſhould deſert; had they been united and acted with vigor, the camp might have been ſurpriſed and many of the people deſtroyed. 1745.

Much has been aſcribed, and much is juſtly due to the activity and vigilance of Commodore Warren, and the ſhips under his command; much is alſo due to the vigor and perſeverance of the land forces, and the ſucceſs was doubtleſs owing, under God, to the joint efforts of both. Something of policy, as well as bravery, is generally neceſſary in ſuch undertakings; and there was one piece of management, which, though not mentioned by any hiſtorian, yet greatly contributed to the ſurrender of the city.

The capture of the Vigilant, a French ſixty-four gun ſhip, commanded by the Marquis de la Maiſon forte, and richly laden with military ſtores for the relief of the garriſon, was one of the moſt capital exploits performed by the navy. This ſhip had been anxiouſly expected by the French; and it was thought that the news of her capture, if properly communicated to them, might produce a good effect; but how to do it was the queſtion. At length the Commodore hit on this expedient, which he propoſed to the General, who approved, and put it into execution. In May 19.

June 1. MS letters of Warren and Pepperell.

1745. a ſkirmiſh on the iſland, with a party of French and Indians, ſome Engliſh priſoners had been taken by them, and uſed with cruelty. This circumſtance was made known to the Marquis, and he was requeſted to go on board of all the ſhips in the bay where French priſoners were confined, and obſerve the condition in which they were kept. He did ſo, and was well ſatisfied with their fare and accommodations. He was then deſired to write to the Governor of the city, and inform him how well the French priſoners were treated, and to requeſt the like favor for
June 7. the Engliſh priſoners. The humane Marquis readily conſented, and the letter was ſent the next day by a flag, intruſted to the care of Capt. Macdonald. He was carried before the Governor and his chief officers; and by pretending not to underſtand their language, he had the advantage of liſtening to their diſcourſe; by which he found, that they had not before heard of the capture of the Vigilant, and that the news of it, under the hand of her late commander, threw them into viſible perturbation. This event, with the erection of a battery on the high cliff at the light houſe, under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Gridley, by which the iſland battery was much annoyed, and the preparations which were evidently making for a general aſſault, determined Duchambon to ſurrender; and accordingly, in
June 15 to 17. a few days he capitulated.

Upon entering the fortreſs and viewing its ſtrength, and the plenty and variety of its means of defence, the ſtouteſt hearts were appalled, and the impracticability of carrying it by aſſault, was fully demonſtrated.

No sooner was the city taken, and the army under shelter, than the weather, which during the siege, excepting eight or nine days after the first landing, had been remarkably dry for that climate, changed for the worse ; and, an incessant rain of ten days succeeded. Had this happened before the surrender, the troops who had then begun to be sickly, and had none but very thin tents, must have perished in great numbers. Reinforcements of men, stores and provisions arrived,* and it was determined in a Council of War to maintain the place and repair the breaches. A total demolition might have been more advantageous to the nation ; but in that case, individuals would not have enjoyed the profit of drawing bills on the navy and ordnance establishments. The French flag was kept flying on the ramparts; and several rich prizes were decoyed into the harbour. The army supposed that they had a right to a share of these prizes ; but means were found to suppress or evade their claim; nor did any of the Colony cruisers (except one) though they were retained in the service, under the direction of the Commodore, reap any benefit from the captures. 1745. Pepperell's letters, MS.

The news of this important victory filled America with joy, and Europe with astonishment. The enterprising spirit of New-England gave a serious alarm to those jealous fears, which had long predicted the independence of the Colonies. Great pains were

* Of the reinforcements, New-Hampshire sent 115 men. The loss which the New-Hampshire troops suffered was but eleven, of whom five were killed and six died of sickness. This was before the surrender. More died afterwards in garrison.
Shirley's letter to Wentworth, from Louisbourg, Sept. 2.

1745. taken in England to aſcribe all the glory to the navy, and leſſen the merit of the army. However, Pepperell received the title of a Baronet, as well as Warren. The latter was promoted to be an Admiral; the former had a commiſſion as Colonel in the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, and was empowered to raiſe a regiment in America, to be in the pay of the Crown. The ſame emolument was given to Shirley, and both he and Wentworth acquired ſo much reputation as to be confirmed in their places. Vaughan went to England to ſeek a reward for his ſervices, and there died of the ſmall-pox. Solicitations were ſet on foot for a parliamentary reimburſement, which, after much difficulty and delay, was obtained; and the Colonies who had expended their ſubſtance were in credit at the Britiſh treaſury.* The juſtice and policy of this meaſure muſt appear to every one, who conſiders, that excepting the ſuppreſſion of a rebellion within the bowels of the kingdom, this conqueſt was the only action which could be called a victory, on the part of the Britiſh nation, during the whole French war, and afforded them the means of purchaſing a peace.

Bollan's MS. letters.

* The reimburſement to New-Hampſhire was ſixteen thouſand, three hundred and fifty-five pounds ſterling.

Thomlinſon's MS. letter.

CHAP. XX.

Projected Expedition to Canada. Alarm by the French fleet. State of the Frontiers. Peace.

WHILST the expedition to Cape-Breton was in hand, the active mind of Governor Shirley contemplated nothing less than the conquest of all the French dominions in America; and he consulted with Governor Wentworth and Mr. Atkinson on the practicability of such a design. After Louisbourg was taken, he made a visit thither, and held a consultation with Sir Peter Warren and Sir William Pepperell; and from that place wrote pressingly to the British ministry on the subject. His solicitations, enforced by the brilliant success at Louisbourg, and the apparent danger in which Nova-Scotia and the new conquest were involved, had such an effect, that in the spring of the following year, a circular letter was sent from the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of state, to all the Governors of the American colonies, as far southward as Virginia; requiring them to raise as many men as they could spare, and form them into companies of one hundred; to be ready to unite, and act according to the orders which they should afterwards receive. The plan was, that a squadron of ships of war, and a body of land forces, should be sent from England against Canada; that the troops raised in New-England should join the British fleet and army at Louisbourg, and proceed up the river St. Lawrence; that those of New-York

Shirley's MS letters

1746.

April 6.

Douglass I. 315.

1746. and the other Provinces at the ſouthward, ſhould be collected at Albany, and march againſt Crown Point and Montreal. The management of this expedition was committed to Sir John St. Clair, in conjunction with Sir Peter Warren and Governor Shirley. St. Clair did not come to America. Warren and Shirley gave the orders, while Warren was here; and afterward Commodore Knowles, who ſucceeded him, was joined with Shirley; but as Knowles was part of the time at Louiſbourg, moſt of the concern devolved on Shirley alone.

Beſide the danger of loſing Nova-Scotia and Cape-Breton, there were other reaſons for undertaking this expedition. The Indians, inſtigated by the Governor of Canada, were ravaging the frontiers, deſtroying the fields and cattle, burning houſes and mills, killing and carrying away the inhabitants. Though ſcouts and garriſons were maintained by the governments; yet to act altogether on the defenſive, was thought to be not only an ineffectual, but a diſgraceful mode of carrying on the war; eſpecially after the ſucceſs which had attended the arms of the Coloniſts in their attempt againſt Louiſbourg. The continuance of ſuch a mode of defence, would neither diſpirit the enemy, nor ſecure the frontiers from their depredations.

Shirley's ſpeech. June 28.

The deſign was pleaſing, and the Colonies readily furniſhed their quotas of men. In New-Hampſhire, the ſame difficulty occurred as on occaſion of the Louiſbourg expedition. The Governor had no authority to conſent to the emiſſion of bills of credit, but Shirley removed that obſtacle, by ſuggeſting to him,

Shirley's MS letters, May 31.

that as the miniſtry did not diſapprove what he had done before, ſo there was no reaſon to fear it now; and that the importance of the ſervice, and the neceſſity of the caſe, would juſtify his conduct. The demand at firſt, was for levy money and victualing. The arms and pay of the troops were to be furniſhed by the Crown; but it was afterward found neceſſary that the ſeveral governments ſhould provide clothing, tranſports and ſtores, and depend on a reimburſement from the Britiſh Parliament. 1746.

The Aſſembly was immediately convened, and voted an encouragement for inliſting a thouſand men, or more, if they could be raiſed; with a bounty of thirty pounds currency, and a blanket to each man, beſides keeping two armed veſſels in pay. Col. Atkinſon was appointed to the command of the troops. Eight hundred men were inliſted and ready for embarkation by the beginning of July. Tranſports and proviſions were prepared, and the men waited, impatiently, all ſummer for employment. Neither the General nor any orders arrived from England; the fleet, which was ſaid to be deſtined for the expedition, ſailed ſeven times from Spithead, and as often returned. Two regiments, only, were ſent from Gibraltar, to Louiſbourg, to relieve the New-England men, who had garriſoned it ſince the conqueſt. It is much eaſier to write the hiſtory of an active campaign, than to trace the cauſes of inaction and diſappointment; and it is in vain to ſupply the place of facts by conjecture.* June. Atkinſon's MS letters.

* 'The laſt war was ruinous in the expenſe, and unſucceſsful in the 'end, for want of conſideration, and a reaſonable plan at the begin-'ning.' Doddington's Diary. May 27, 1755. Page 339.

1746. In this time of ſuſpenſe, Sir Peter Warren, and Sir William Pepperell, having arrived at Boſton, from Louiſbourg, Shirley had an opportunity of conſulting them, and ſuch other gentlemen as he thought proper, on the affair of the Canada expedition. The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that a fleet could hardly be expected from England; or if it ſhould arrive, it would be too late to attempt the navigation of the river St. Lawrence. But, as a ſufficient body of the troops might be aſſembled at Albany, it was judged prudent to employ them in an attempt againſt the French fort at Crown Point. At the ſame time, Clinton, Governor of New-York, ſolicited and obtained the friendly aſſiſtance of the Six Nations of Indians, on the borders of his Province. It was thought, that if this attempt ſhould be made, the alliance with theſe Indians would be ſtrengthened and ſecured; and the frontiers would be relieved from the horrors of deſolation and captivity, to which they were continually expoſed. In purſuance of this plan, the forces of New-Hampſhire were ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs, to march to Albany; but, it being diſcovered that the ſmall-pox was there, the rendezvous was appointed at Saratoga and the adjacent villages.

Shirley's & Warren's MS letters. Auguſt 25.

MS letter of Secretary Willard. Sept. 1.

No ſooner was this plan reſolved on, and preparations made to carry it into execution, than accounts were received of danger which threatened Annapolis, from a body of French and Indians at Minas, and the probable revolt of the Acadians. It was thought that Nova-Scotia would be loſt, if ſome powerful ſuccour were not ſent thither. Or-

Shirley's & Warren's MS letters, Sept. 12.

ders were accordingly iſſued, for the troops of Maſſachuſetts, Rhode-Iſland and New-Hampſhire, to embark for that place, and 'drive the enemy out of Nova-Scotia.' But, within a few days more, the whole country was alarmed, and thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, by reports of the arrival of a large fleet and army from France, at Nova-Scotia, under the command of the Duke D'Anville. It was ſuppoſed that their object was to recover Louiſbourg; to take Annapolis; to break up the ſettlements on the eaſtern coaſt of Maſſachuſetts; and to diſtreſs, if not attempt the conqueſt of the whole country of New-England. On this occaſion, the troops deſtined for Canada found ſufficient employment at home, and the militia was collected to join them; the old forts on the ſea coaſt were repaired, and new ones were erected. A new battery, conſiſting of ſixteen guns, of thirty-two and twenty-four pounds ſhot, was added to fort William and Mary, at the entrance of Paſcataqua harbour; and another, of nine thirty-two pounders, was placed at the point of Little Harbour. Theſe works were ſuppoſed to be ſufficient to prevent a ſurpriſal. Military guards were appointed; and in this ſtate of fear and anxiety, the people were kept for ſix weeks, when ſome priſoners, who had been releaſed by the French, brought the moſt affecting accounts of the diſtreſs and confuſion on board the fleet. It was expected, by the people in New-England, that an Engliſh fleet would have followed them to America. This expectation was grounded on ſome letters from England, which Shirley had received and which he

1746. Sept. 29. October 25.

1746. forwarded by expreſs to Admiral Townſend, at Louiſbourg. The letters were intercepted by a French cruiſer, and carried into Chebucto, where the fleet lay. They were opened in a Council of War, and cauſed a diviſion among the officers; which, added to the ſickly condition of the men, and the damage which the fleet had ſuſtained by ſtorms, and their loſs by ſhipwrecks, dejected their commander to that degree, that he put an end to his life by poiſon; and the ſecond in command fell on his ſword. Theſe melancholy events, diſconcerted their firſt plan. They then reſolved to make an attempt on Annapolis; but when they had ſailed from Chebucto, they were overtaken by a violent tempeſt, off Cape Sable; and thoſe ſhips which eſcaped deſtruction, returned ſingly to France. Never was the hand of divine Providence more viſible, than on this occaſion. Never was a diſappointment more ſevere, on the ſide of the enemy; nor a deliverance more complete, without human help, in favor of this country.

Nova-Scotia was not yet out of danger. The French and Indians, who, during the ſtay of the fleet at Chebucto, had appeared before Annapolis, but on their departure retired, were ſtill in the peninſula; and it was thought neceſſary to diſlodge them. For this purpoſe Shirley ſent a body of the Maſſachuſetts forces, and preſſed the Governors of Rhode-Iſland and New-Hampſhire to
Nov. 10. ſend part of theirs. Thoſe from Rhode-Iſland, and one tranſport from Boſton, were wrecked on the paſſage. The armed veſſels of New-Hampſhire, with two hundred men,

went to Annapolis; but the commander of one of them, instead of landing his men, sailed across the Bay of Funda, into St. John's river; where, meeting with a French snow, and mistaking her for one of the Rhode-Island transports, he imprudently sent his boat with eight men on board, who were made prisoners, and the snow escaped. The sloop, instead of returning to Annapolis, came back to Portsmouth. These misfortunes and disappointments had very serious ill consequences. The Massachusetts forces, who were at Nova-Scotia, being inferior in number to the French, and deceived by false intelligence, were surprised in the midst of a snow storm at Minas; and after an obstinate resistance, were obliged to capitulate. Their commander, Col. Arthur Noble, and about sixty men, were killed, and fifty were wounded. The enemy being provided with snow-shoes, made forced marches; and ours being destitute of them were unable to escape. 1746. Dec 13, Shirley's MS letters, & affidavits of the crew. 1747. Jan. 31. Boston Evening Post.

When the alarm occasioned by the French fleet had subsided, Atkinson's regiment marched into the country to cover the lower part of the frontiers, and encamped near the shore of Winipiseogee lake; where they passed the winter and built a slight fort. They were plentifully supplied with provisions, and had but little exercise or discipline. Courts martial were not instituted, nor offences punished. The officers and men were tired of the service; but were not permitted to enter on any other business, lest orders should arrive from England. Some were employed in scouting; some in hunting or fishing, and some deserted. Atkinson's MS letters.

1747. Shirley was so intent on attacking Crown Point that he even proposed to march thither in the winter, and had the address to draw the Assembly of Massachusetts into an approbation of this project. He enlarged his plan, by proposing that the New-Hampshire troops should at the same time go, by the way of Connecticut river, to the Indian village of St. Francis, at the distance of two hundred miles, and destroy it; while the troops from Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-York, should go by the way of the Lakes to Crown Point. The Governor of New-York would have consented to this wild projection, on account of the Indian allies, who were impatient for war; but it was happily frustrated, by the prudence of the Connecticut Assembly; who deemed the winter an improper season for so great an undertaking, and deferred their assistance till the ensuing spring. At the same time the small pox prevailed in the settlements above Albany, through which the forces must have marched; and that distemper was then an object of much greater dread, than the storms of winter, or the face of an enemy.

Shirley's MS letters.

MS copy of Connecticut Resolves. Jan. 28.

To finish what relates to the Canada forces, it can only be said, that excepting some who were employed on the frontiers, they were kept in a state of military indolence, till the autumn of the ensuing year; when by order from the Duke of Newcastle they were disbanded, and paid at the same rate as the King's troops. The Governors drew bills on the British treasury; which were negociated among the merchants at seven and eight hundred per cent. and the Parliament granted

Oct. 1747.

Bollan's MS. letters

money, to reimburſe the charges of the equipment and ſubſiſtence of theſe forces. 1747.

The ſtate of the frontiers now demands our attention. By the extenſion of the boundaries of the Province, ſeveral ſettlements which had been made by the people of Maſſachuſetts, and under the authority of grants from their General Court, had fallen within New-Hampſhire. In one of them ſtood Fort Dummer, on the weſt ſide of Connecticut river, and within the lately extended line of New-Hampſhire. This fort had been erected and maintained, at the expenſe of Maſſachuſetts; but when it was found to be within New-Hampſhire, the Governor was inſtructed by the Crown to recommend to the Aſſembly, the future maintenance of it. In the ſame Aſſembly, which had ſo zealouſly entered upon the expedition againſt Cape Breton, this matter was introduced; but a conſiderable majority of the lower Houſe declined making any grant for this purpoſe, and adduced the following reaſons, viz. That the fort was fifty miles diſtant from any towns which had been ſettled by the government or people of New-Hampſhire; that the people had no right to the lands which, by the dividing line, had fallen within New-Hampſhire; notwithſtanding the plauſible arguments which had been uſed to induce them to bear the expenſe of the line; namely, that the land would be given to them or elſe would be ſold to pay that expenſe; that the charge of maintaining that fort, at ſo great a diſtance, and to which there was no communication by roads, would exceed what had been the whole expenſe of government before the line was eſtabliſhed; 1745. Printed Journal, May 3.

1745. that the great load of debt contracted on that account, and the yearly ſupport of government, with the unavoidable expenſes of the war, were as much as the people could bear; that if they ſhould take upon them to maintain this fort, there was another much better and more convenient fort at a place called Number-four, beſides ſeveral other ſettlements, which they ſhould alſo be obliged to defend; and finally that there was no danger that theſe forts would want ſupport, ſince it was the intereſt of Maſſachuſetts, by whom they were erected, to maintain them as a cover to their frontier.

When theſe reaſons were given, the Governor diſſolved the Aſſembly and called an-
June 7. other, to whom he recommended the ſame meaſure in the moſt preſſing terms; telling them, 'that it was of the laſt conſequence to 'the preſent and future proſperity of the gov-'ernment; that their refuſal would leſſen 'them in the eſteem of the King and his min-'iſters, and ſtrip the children yet unborn of 'their natural right; and deprive their breth-'ren who were then hazarding their lives 'before the walls of Louiſbourg of their juſt 'expectations, which were to ſit down on that 'valuable part of the Province.' But his eloquence had no effect. They thought it unjuſt to burden their Conſtituents with an expenſe which could yield them no profit, and afford them no protection.

When it was determined, that New-Hampſhire would make no proviſion for fort Dummer, the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts continued its uſual ſupport, and alſo provided for the other poſts on Connecticut river and its

branches, which were within the limits of New-Hampshire. They afterwards petitioned the King, to deduct that charge out of the reimbursement, which the Parliament had granted to New-Hampshire, for the Canada expedition; but in this they were defeated, by the vigilance and address of Thomlinson, the agent of New-Hampshire. 1745.

Most of the frontier towns of New-Hampshire, at that time, were distinguished by no other than by Indian or temporary names. It may be convenient to compare them with their present names. On Connecticut river, and its eastern branches, were

Number-four,	which are now called	Charlestown,
Great Meadow,		Westmoreland,
Great Fall,		Walpole,
Fort Dummer,		Hinsdale,
Upper Ashuelot &		Keene and
Lower Ashuelot,		Swansey.

On Merrimack river and its branches, were

Penacook,	which are now called	Concord,
Suncook,		Pembroke,
Contoocook,		Boscawen,
New-Hopkinton,		Hopkinton,
Souhegan east &		Merrimack and
Souhegan west,		Amherst.

On Pascataqua river, and its branches, were the townships of Nottingham, Barrington and Rochester.

Besides the forts which were maintained at the public expense, there were private houses enclosed with ramparts, or palisades of timber; to which the people who remained on the frontiers retired; these private garrisoned houses were distinguished by the names of the owners. The danger to which

1745. theſe diſtreſſed people were conſtantly expoſed, did not permit them to cultivate their lands to any advantage. They were frequently alarmed when at labor in their fields, and obliged either to repel an attack, or make a retreat. Their crops were often injured, and ſometimes deſtroyed, either by their cattle getting into the fields where the enemy had broken the fences, or becauſe they were afraid to venture out, to collect and ſecure the harveſt. Their cattle and horſes were frequently killed by the enemy; who cut the fleſh from the bones, and took out the tongues, which they preſerved for food, by drying in ſmoke. Sometimes they were afraid even to milk their cows; though they kept them in paſtures as near as poſſible to the forts. When they went abroad, they were always armed; but frequently they were ſhut up for weeks together in a ſtate of inactivity.

The hiſtory of a war on the frontiers can be little elſe than a recital of the exploits, the ſufferings, the eſcapes and deliverances of individuals, of ſingle families or ſmall parties. The firſt appearance of the enemy on the weſtern frontier was at the Great Meadow, ſixteen miles above fort Dummer. Two Indians took William Phips, as he was hoeing his corn. When they had carried him half a mile, one of them went down a ſteep hill to fetch ſomething which had been left. In his abſence, Phips, with his own hoe, knocked down the Indian who was with him; then ſeizing his gun, ſhot the other as he aſcended the hill. Unfortunately, meeting with three others of the ſame party, they

July 5. Doolittle's Memoirs, page 2.

killed him. The Indian whom he knocked down died of his wound. The ſame week they killed Joſiah Fiſher of upper Aſhuelot. 1745. July 10.

No other damage was done for three months; when a party of twelve Indians approached the fort at Great Meadow, and took Nehemiah How, who was at a little diſtance from the fort, cutting wood. The fort was alarmed, and one Indian was killed by a ſhot from the rampart; but no attempt was made to reſcue the priſoner. As they were leading him away, by the ſide of the river, they eſpied a canoe coming down, with two men, at whom they fired, and killed David Rugg; but Robert Baker got to the oppoſite ſhore and eſcaped. Proceeding farther, they met three other men, who, by ſkulking under the bank, got ſafe to the fort. One of them was Caleb How, the priſoner's ſon. When they came oppoſite to Number-four, they made their captive write his name on a piece of bark, and left it there. Having travelled ſeven days weſtward, they came to a lake, where they found five canoes, with corn, pork and tobacco. In theſe canoes they embarked; and having ſtuck the ſcalp of David Rugg on a pole, proceeded to the fort at Crown-Point; where How received humane treatment from the French. He was then carried down to Quebec, where he died in priſon. He was a uſeful man, greatly lamented by his friends and fellow captives. October 11. How's narrative.

The next ſpring, a party of Indians appeared at Number-four, where they took John Spafford, Iſaac Parker and Stephen Farnſworth, as they were driving a team. 1746. April 19. Doolittle's memoirs.

1746. Their cattle were found dead, with their tongues cut out. The men were carried to Canada, and, after ſome time, returned to Boſton, in a flag of truce.

April 23. Within a few days, a large party, conſiſting of fifty, laid a plan to ſurpriſe the fort, at Upper Aſhuelot. They hid themſelves in a ſwamp, in the evening; intending to wait till the men had gone out to their work, in the morning, and then ruſh in. Ephraim Dorman, who was abroad very early, diſcovered them and gave the alarm. He bravely defended himſelf againſt two Indians, and ſtripped one of his blanket and gun, which he carried into the fort. John Bullard, and the wife of Daniel Mc Kenny were killed. Nathan Blake was taken and carried to Canada, where he remained two years. They burned ſeveral houſes and barns; and from the human bones found among the aſhes, it was thought that ſome of the enemy fell and were concealed in the flames.

Doolittle's memoirs, & Sumner's MS letter.

About the ſame time, a party came down to New-Hopkinton, where they entered a garriſoned houſe, and found the people aſleep; the door having been left open by one who had riſen early and gone out to hunt. Eight perſons were thus taken; Samuel Burbank and his two ſons, David Woodwell, his wife, two ſons, and a daughter. Burbank and the wife of Woodwell, died in captivity. Woodwell and three of the children returned in a flag of truce to Boſton.

April 27.

How's narrative, and Norton's narrative.

Boſton Poſt Boy.

May 2. The enemy were ſcattered in ſmall parties, on all the frontiers. At Number-four, ſome women went out to milk their cows, with Major Joſiah Willard, and ſeveral ſoldiers,

Doolittle's narrative.

for their guard: Eight Indians who were concealed in a barn, fired on them, and killed Seth Putnam; as they were ſcalping him, Willard and two more fired on them, and mortally wounded two, whom their companions carried off. 1746.

At Contoocook, five white men and a negro were fired at. Eliſha Cook and the negro were killed. Thomas Jones was taken, and died in Canada. May 4. Norton's & How's narratives.

At lower Aſhuelot, they took Timothy Brown and Robert Moffat, who were carried to Canada and returned. At the ſame time a party lay about the fort at Upper Aſhuelot. As one of them knocked at the gate in the night, the centinel fired through the gate and gave him a mortal wound. May 6. Doolittle's narrative.

The danger thus increaſing, a reinforcement was ſent by the Maſſachuſetts Aſſembly, to theſe diſtreſſed towns. Capt. Paine, with a troop, came to Number-four; and about twenty of his men, going to view the place where Putnam was killed, fell into an ambuſh. The enemy roſe and fired, and then endeavored to cut off their retreat. Capt. Phinehas Stevens, with a party, ruſhed out to their relief: A ſkirmiſh enſued; in which five men were killed on each ſide, and one of ours was taken. The Indians left ſome of their guns and blankets behind. May 24. June 19.

In about a month after this, another engagement happened at the ſame place. As Capt. Stevens and Capt. Brown were going into the meadow, to look for their horſes, the dogs diſcovered an ambuſh, which put the men into a poſture for action, and gave them the advantage of the firſt fire. After a ſharp Doolittle's narrative. Boſton Evening Poſt.

1746. encounter, the enemy were driven into a ſwamp, drawing away ſeveral of their dead. In this action one man only was loſt. Several blankets, hatchets, ſpears, guns and other things, were left on the ground, which were ſold for forty pounds old tenor. This was reckoned 'a great booty from ſuch beggarly 'enemies.'

June 24. At Bridgman's fort, near fort Dummer, William Robins and James Baker were killed in a meadow. Daniel How and John Beeman were taken. How killed one of the Indians before he was taken.

July 3. When the people wanted bread they were obliged to go to the mills, with a guard, every place being full of danger. A party who went to Hinſdale's mill, with Colonel Willard at their head, in ſearching round the mill, diſcovered an ambuſh. The enemy were put to flight with the loſs of their packs.

Aug. 3. At Number-four, one Phillips was killed; and as ſome of the people were bringing him into the fort, they were fired upon; but none were hurt. Having burned ſome buildings, and killed ſome cattle, the enemy went and ambuſhed the road near Winche-

Aug. 6. ſter, where they killed Joſeph Rawſon.

Whilſt the upper ſettlements were thus ſuffering, the lower towns did not eſcape. A party of Indians came down to Rocheſter,

June 27. Haven's MS. letter. within twenty miles of Portſmouth. Five men were at work in a field, having their arms at hand. The Indians concealed themſelves; one of them fired, with a view to induce the men to diſcharge their pieces, which they did. The enemy then ruſhed upon

them before they could load again. They retreated to a ſmall deſerted houſe and faſtened the door. The Indians tore off the roof, and with their guns and tomahawks diſpatched Joſeph Heard, Joſeph Richards, John Wentworth and Gerſham Downs. They wounded and took John Richards; and then croſſing over to another road, came upon ſome men who were at work in a field, all of whom eſcaped; but they took Jonathan Door, a boy, as he was ſitting on a fence. Richards was kindly uſed, his wounds were healed, and after eighteen months he was ſent to Boſton in a flag of truce. Door lived with the Indians and acquired their manners and habits; but, after the conqueſt of Canada, returned to his native place. 1746.

Soon after this, another man was killed at Rocheſter. Two men were ſurpriſed and taken at Contoocook; and a large party of Indians lay in Ambuſh at Penacook, with an intention to attack the people, while aſſembled for public worſhip; but ſeeing them go armed to their devotions, they waited till the next morning, when they killed five and took two. Aug 6.

In theſe irritating ſkirmiſhes the ſummer was ſpent; till a large body of French and Indians attacked Fort Maſſachuſetts, at Hooſuck. This fort was loſt for want of ammunition to defend it. After this ſucceſs, the enemy remained quiet during the reſt of the ſummer. Aug. 20. Norton's narrative.

The proſpect of an expedition to Canada had induced many of the ſoldiers who were poſted on the frontiers to inliſt into the regiments, becauſe they preferred active ſervice to the dull routine of a garriſon. The de-

1746. fence of the weſtern poſts was not only hazardous, but ineffectual; and ſome perſons in the north-weſtern part of Maſſachuſetts thought it inexpedient, to be at the charge of defending a territory, which was out of their November. juriſdiction. Their petitions prevailed with the Aſſembly, to withdraw their troops from the weſtern parts of New-Hampſhire. The inhabitants were then obliged to quit their eſtates. They depoſited in the earth, ſuch furniture and utenſils as could be ſaved by that means; they carried off on horſeback ſuch as were portable; and the remainder, with their buildings, was left as a prey to the enemy, who came and deſtroyed or carried away what they pleaſed. Four families, Sumner's & Olcott's MS. letters. who remained in Shattuck's fort (Hinſdale) defended it againſt a party of Indians, who attempted to burn it. Six men only were left in the fort at Number-four, who, in the following winter deſerted it; and it was wholly deſtitute for two months. In this time ſome gentlemen, who underſtood the true intereſt of the country, prevailed on the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts, to reſume the protection of thoſe deſerted places; and to employ a ſufficiency of men, not only to garriſon them, but to range the woods and watch the motions of the enemy.

1747. In the latter end of March, Captain Phinehas Stevens, who commanded a ranging company of thirty men, came to Number-four; and finding the fort entire, determined to keep poſſeſſion of it. He had not been there April 4. many days, when he was attacked by a very large party of French and Indians, commanded by M. Debelinè. The dogs, by their bark-

ing, discovered that the enemy were near ; 1747.
which caused the gate to be kept shut, beyond the usual time. One man went out to make discovery and was fired on ; but returned with a slight wound only. The enemy, finding that they were discovered, arose from their concealment and fired at the fort on all sides. The wind being high, they set fire to the fences and log-houses, till the fort was surrounded by flames. Captain Stevens took the most prudent measures for his security ; keeping every vessel full of water and digging trenches under the walls in several places ; so that a man might creep through, and extinguish any fire, which might catch on the outside of the walls. The fire of the fences did not reach the fort ; nor did the flaming arrows which they incessantly shot against it take effect. Having continued this mode of attack for two days, accompanied with hideous shouts and yells ; they prepared a wheel carriage, loaded with dry faggots, to be pushed before them, that they might set fire to the fort. Before they proceeded to this operation, they demanded a cessation of arms till the sun-rising, which was granted. In the morning Debelinè came up with fifty men, and a flag of truce which he stuck in the ground. He demanded a parley, which was agreed to. A French officer, with a soldier and an Indian, then advanced ; and proposed that the garrison should bind up a quantity of provisions with their blankets, and having laid down their arms should be conducted prisoners to Montreal. Another proposal was that the two commanders should meet, and that an answer

Stevens's letter, in Boston Evening Post, April 27.

1747. ſhould then be given. Stevens met the French commander, who, without waiting for an anſwer, began to enforce his propoſal, by threatening to ſtorm the fort, and put every man to death, if they ſhould refuſe his terms, and kill one of his men. Stevens anſwered, that he could hearken to no terms till the laſt extremity; that he was intruſted with the defence of the fort, and was determined to maintain it, till he ſhould be convinced that the Frenchman could perform what he had threatened. He added, that it was poor encouragement to ſurrender, if they were all to be put to the ſword for killing one man, when it was probable they had already killed more. The Frenchman replied, 'Go and ſee if your men dare to fight any 'longer, and give me a quick anſwer.' Stevens returned and aſked his men, whether they would fight or ſurrender. They unanimouſly determined to fight. This was immediately made known to the enemy, who renewed their ſhouting and firing all that day and night. On the morning of the third day, they requeſted another ceſſation for two hours. Two Indians came with a flag, and propoſed, that if Stevens would ſell them proviſions they would withdraw. He anſwered, that to ſell them proviſions for money was contrary to the law of nations; but that he would pay them five buſhels of corn for every captive, for whom they would give a hoſtage, till the captive could be brought from Canada. After this anſwer, a few guns were fired, and the enemy were ſeen no more.

In this furious attack from a ſtarving

enemy, no lives were loſt in the fort, and two men only were wounded. No men could have behaved with more intrepidity in the midſt of ſuch threatening danger. An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to Boſton, and the news was there received with great joy. Commodore Sir Charles Knowles was ſo highly pleaſed with the conduct of Capt. Stevens, that he preſented him with a valuable and elegant ſword, as a reward for his bravery. From this circumſtance, the townſhip, when it was incorporated, took the name of Charleſtown. 1747.

Small parties of the enemy kept hovering, and ſometimes diſcovered themſelves. Sergeant Phelps killed one, near the fort, and eſcaped unhurt, though fired upon and purſued by two others.

Other parties went farther down the country; and at Rocheſter, they ambuſhed a company who were at work in a field. The ambuſh was diſcovered by three lads, John and George Place, and Paul Jennens. The Indians fired upon them. John Place returned the fire and wounded an Indian. Jennens preſented his gun but did not fire; this prevented the enemy from ruſhing upon them, till the men from the field came to their relief and put the Indians to flight. June 7. Haven's MS. letters.

At Penacook, a party of the enemy diſcovered themſelves by firing at ſome cattle. They were purſued by fifty men; and retreated with ſuch precipitation, as to leave their packs and blankets, with other things behind. One man had his arm broken in this conflict. About the ſame time, a man was killed there, who had juſt returned from July 28. Boſton Evening Poſt.

1747. Cape Breton, after an abſence of two years. Another was killed at Suncook; and at Nottingham, Robert Beard, John Folſom and Elizabeth Simpſon, ſuffered the ſame fate.

Upham's MS. letter.

In the autumn, Major Willard and Captain Alexander, wounded and took a Frenchman, near Wincheſter, who was conducted to Boſton and returned to Canada. Soon after, the enemy burned Bridgman's fort; (Hinſdale) and killed ſeveral perſons, and took others from that place, and from Number-four, in the enſuing winter. No purſuit could be made, becauſe the garriſon was not provided with ſnow-ſhoes, though many hundreds had been paid for by the Government.

1748. The next ſpring, Captain Stevens was again appointed to command at Number-four, with a garriſon of an hundred men; Capt. Humphrey Hobbs being ſecond in command. A ſcouting party of eighteen, was ſent out under Capt. Eleazer Melvin. They diſcovered two canoes in Lake Champlain, at which they fired. The fort at Crown Point was alarmed, and a party came out to intercept them. Melvin croſſed their track, and came back to Weſt River; where as his men were diverting themſelves by ſhooting ſalmon, the Indians ſuddenly came upon them and killed ſix. The others came in at different times to Fort Dummer.

Olcott's MS. letter.

May 25.

Doolittle's narrative.

On a Sabbath morning, at Rocheſter, the wife of Jonathan Hodgdon was taken by the Indians, as ſhe was going to milk her cows. She called aloud to her huſband. The Indians would have kept her quiet, but as ſhe perſiſted in calling, they killed her, appar-

May 1.

Haven's MS. letter.

ently contrary to their intentions. Her husband heard her cries, and came to her assistance, at the instant of her death. His gun missed fire, and he escaped. The alarm, occasioned by this action, prevented greater mischief. 1748.

The next month, they killed three men belonging to Hinsdale's fort, Nathan French, Joseph Richardson and John Frost. Seven were taken; one of whom, William Bickford, died of his wounds. Capt. Hobbs, and forty men, being on a scout near West River, were surprised by a party of Indians, with whom they had a smart encounter, of three hours continuance. Hobbs left the ground, having had three men killed and four wounded. The same party of the enemy killed two men and took nine, between fort Hinsdale and fort Dummer. June 16. June 26. July 14.

The cessation of arms between the belligerent powers did not wholly put a stop to the incursions of the enemy; for after it was known here, and after the garrison of Number-four was withdrawn, excepting fifteen men, Obadiah Sortwell was killed, and a son of Capt. Stevens was taken and carried to Canada; but he was released and returned. 1749. June 17. Olcott's MS. letters.

During this affecting scene of devastation and captivity; there were no instances of deliberate murder nor torture exercised on those who fell into the hands of the Indians; and even the old custom of making them run the gauntlet was in most cases omitted. On the contrary there is an universal testimony from the captives who survived and returned, in favor of the humanity of their captors.

1749. When feeble, they aſſiſted them in travelling; and in caſes of diſtreſs from want of proviſion, they ſhared with them an equal proportion. A ſingular inſtance of moderation deſerves remembrance. An Indian had ſurpriſed a man at Aſhuelot; the man aſked for quarter, and it was granted: Whilſt the Indian was preparing to bind him, he ſeized the Indian's gun, and ſhot him in one arm. The Indian, however, ſecured him; but took no other revenge than, with a kick, to ſay 'You dog, how could you treat 'me ſo?' The gentleman from whom this information came, has frequently heard the ſtory both from the captive and the captor. The latter related it as an inſtance of Engliſh perfidy; the former of Indian lenity.

Olcott's MS. letter.

There was a ſtriking difference between the manner in which this war was managed, on the part of the Engliſh and on the part of the French. The latter kept out ſmall parties continually engaged in killing, ſcalping and taking priſoners; who were ſold in Canada and redeemed by their friends, at a great expenſe. By this mode of conduct, the French made their enemies pay the whole charge of their predatory excurſions, beſides reaping a handſome profit to themſelves. On the other hand, the Engliſh attended only to the defence of the frontiers; and that in ſuch a manner, as to leave them for the moſt part inſecure. No parties were ſent to harraſs the ſettlements of the French. If the whole country of Canada could not be ſubdued, nothing leſs could be attempted. Men were continually kept in pay, and in expectation of ſervice; but ſpent their time either in

garriſons, or camps, or in guarding proviſions when ſent to the ſeveral forts. Though large rewards were promiſed for ſcalps and priſoners, ſcarcely any were obtained unleſs by accident. A confuſion of councils, and a multiplicity of directors, cauſed frequent changes of meaſures, and delays in the execution of them. The forts were ill ſupplied with ammunition, proviſions, clothing and ſnow-ſhoes. When an alarm happened, it was neceſſary, either to bake bread, or dreſs meat, or caſt bullets, before a purſuit could be made. The French gave commiſſions to none but thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome exploit. Among us, perſons frequently obtained preferment, for themſelves or their friends, by making their court to Governors, and promoting favorite meaſures in town meetings, or General Aſſemblies. 1749. 1747.

A community recovering from a war, like an individual recovering from ſickneſs, is ſometimes in danger of a relapſe. This war was not deciſive, and the cauſes which kindled it were not removed. One of its effects was, that it produced a claſs of men, who, having been for a time releaſed from laborious occupations, and devoted to the parade of military life, did not readily liſten to the calls of induſtry. To ſuch men peace was burdenſome, and the more ſo, becauſe they had not the advantage of half pay. The interval between this and the ſucceeding war was not long. The peace took place in 1749, and in 1754 there was a call to reſume the ſword.

CHAP. XXI.

Purchaſe of Maſon's claim. Controverſy about Repreſentation. Plan of extending the ſettlements. Jealouſy and reſentment of the ſavages.

WHILST the people were contending with an enemy abroad, an attempt was making at home, to revive the old claim of Maſon, which their fathers had withſtood, and which for many years had lain dormant, till recalled to view by the politicians of Maſſachuſetts, as already related. After Thomlinſon had engaged with Maſon, for the purchaſe of his title, nothing more was heard of it, till the controverſy reſpecting the lines was finiſhed, and Wentworth was eſtabliſh-
1744. ed in the ſeat of government, and in the office of ſurveyor of the Woods. The agreement which Thomlinſon had made, was in behalf of the Repreſentatives of New-Hampſhire; and the inſtrument was lodged in the hands of the Governor, who ſent it to the
Oct. 30. Houſe for their peruſal and conſideration. It lay on their table a long time, without any
Aſſembly Records. formal notice. Quickening meſſages were ſent time after time; but the affairs of the war, and Maſon's abſence at ſea, and in the expedition to Louiſbourg, where he had a company, together with a diſinclination in the Houſe, which was of a different complexion from that in 1739, prevented any thing from being done.

1745. In the mean time Maſon ſuffered a fine and
Feb. 22. recovery, by which the entail was docked, in the Courts of New-Hampſhire, and he became

entitled to the privilege of ſelling his intereſt. 1745.
He alſo preſented a memorial to the Aſſembly, in which he told them that he would wait no longer; and unleſs they would come 1746.
to ſome reſolution, he ſhould take their ſilence as a refuſal. Intimations were given, that if they would not ratify the agreement, a ſale would be made to other perſons, who ſtood ready to purchaſe. At length the Houſe came to a reſolution, 'that they would 'comply with the agreement, and pay the Jan. 29.
'price; and that the waſte lands ſhould be '*granted by the General Aſſembly*, to the in-'habitants, as they ſhould think proper.' A committee was appointed to treat with Maſon, about fulfilling his agreement, and to draw the proper inſtruments of conveyance; but he had on the ſame day, by deed Jan. 30.
of ſale, for the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds currency, conveyed his whole intereſt to twelve perſons, in fifteen ſhares. When the Houſe ſent a meſſage to the Council to inform them of this reſolution, the Council objected to that clauſe of the reſolve, 'that 'the lands be granted by the General Aſ-'ſembly,' as contrary to the royal commiſſion and inſtructions; but if the Houſe would addreſs the King, for leave to diſpoſe of the lands, they ſaid that they were content.

Theſe tranſactions raiſed a great ferment among the people. Angry and menacing words were plentifully thrown out againſt the purchaſers; but they had prudently taken care to file in the Recorder's office a deed of quit-claim to all the towns which had been ſettled and granted within the limits of

1746. their purchaſe.* In this quit-claim, they
Records of deeds. inſerted a clauſe in the following words, 'excepting and reſerving our reſpective 'rights, titles, inheritance and poſſeſſions, 'which we heretofore had, in common or 'ſeveralty, as inhabitants or proprietors of 'houſes or lands, within any of the towns, 'precincts, diſtricts or villages aforeſaid.' This precaution had not at firſt its effect. A committee of both Houſes was appointed to conſider the matter, and they reported, that 'for quieting the minds of the people, and 'to prevent future difficulty, it would be beſt 'for the Province to purchaſe the claim, for
Aſſembly Records. 'the uſe and benefit of the inhabitants; 'provided that the purchaſers would ſell it 'for the coſt and charges.' This report was accepted, concurred and conſented to, by every branch of the legiſlature. A com-
Auguſt 4. mittee was appointed to conſult Council, and agree on proper inſtruments of conveyance. The ſame day, this committee met with the purchaſers, and conferred on the queſtion, whether they would ſell on the terms propoſed? At the conference, the purchaſers appeared to be divided, and agreed ſo far only, as to withdraw their deed from the Recorder's

* The purchaſers of this claim were
Theodore Atkinſon, three fifteenths.
M. H. Wentworth, two fifteenths.
Richard Wibird.
John Wentworth (ſon of the Governor.)
George Jaffrey.
Samuel Moore.
Nathaniel Meſſerve.
Thomas Packer.
Thomas Wallingford.
Jotham Odiorne.
Joſhua Peirce.
John Moffat, one fifteenth each.

The towns quit claimed were,

Portſmouth,	Londonderry,	Bow,
Dover,	Cheſter,	Chicheſter,
Exeter,	Nottingham,	Epſom,
Hampton,	Barrington,	Barnſtead,
Goſport,	Rocheſter,	and afterward
Kingſton,	Canterbury,	Gilmantown.

office. The committee reported that they could make no terms with the purchaſers ; in conſequence of which the deed was again lodged in the office and recorded. 1746. Aug. 12. Aug. 28.

Much blame was caſt on the purchaſers, for clandeſtinely taking a bargain out of the hands of the Aſſembly. They ſaid in their vindication, ‘ that they ſaw no proſpect of ‘ an effectual purchaſe by the Aſſembly, ‘ though thoſe of them who were members, ‘ voted for it, and did what they could to ‘ encourage it ; that they would have gladly ‘ given Maſon as much money, for his private ‘ quit-claim to their ſeveral rights in the ‘ townſhips already granted and ſettled ; ‘ that Maſon's claim had for many years ‘ hung over the Province, and that on every ‘ turn they had been threatened with a pro- ‘ prietor ; that Maſon's deed to a committee ‘ of Maſſachuſetts, in behalf of that Province, ‘ for a tract of land adjoining the boundary ‘ line, had been entered on the records, and ‘ a title under it ſet up, in oppoſition to grants ‘ made by the Governor and Council ; that ‘ it was impoſſible to ſay where this evil ‘ would ſtop, and therefore they thought it ‘ moſt prudent to prevent any farther effects ‘ of it, by taking up with his offer, eſpecial- ‘ ly as they knew that he might have made a ‘ more advantageous bargain, with a gen- ‘ tleman of fortune in the neighbouring ‘ Province ; but that they were ſtill willing, ‘ to ſell their intereſt to the Aſſembly, for the ‘ coſt and charges ; provided that the land be ‘ *granted by the Governor and Council ;* and that ‘ the agreement be made within one month ‘ from the date of their letter.’ Sept. 4. MS letter, in Proprietary Office.

1746. Within that month, the alarm caufed by the approach of D'Anville's fleet, put a ftop to the negociation. After that danger was over, the affair was revived; but the grand difficulty fubfifted. The purchafers would not fell, but on condition that the lands fhould be granted, by the Governor and Council. The Affembly thought that they could have no fecurity that the land would be granted to the people; becaufe the Gover-
1747. nor and Council might grant it to themfelves, or to their dependents, or to ftrangers, and
Aug. 20. the people who had paid for it might be excluded from the benefit which they had purchafed. A propofal was afterward made, that the fale fhould be to feoffees in truft for the people; and a form of a deed for this purpofe was drawn. To this propofal, the purchafers raifed feveral objections; and as the Affembly had not voted any money to make the purchafe, they declined figning the deed; and no farther efforts being made by the Affembly, the purchafe refted in the hands of the proprietors. In 1749 they took a fecond deed, comprehending all the Mafonian grants, from Naumkeag to Pafcata-
Records of deeds. qua; whereas the former deed was confined to the lately eftablifhed boundaries of New-Hampfhire. This latter deed was not recorded till 1753.

1748. After they had taken their firft deed, the Mafonians began to grant townfhips, and continued granting them to petitioners, often without fees, and always without quit-rents. They quieted the proprietors of the towns, on the weftern fide of the Merrimack, which had been granted by Maffachufetts, before

the eſtabliſhment of the line ; ſo that they 1748.
went on peaceably with their ſettlements. The terms of their grants were, that the grantees ſhould, within a limited time, erect mills and meeting-houſes, clear out roads and ſettle miniſters. In every townſhip, they reſerved one right for the firſt ſettled miniſter, another for a parſonage, and a third for a ſchool. They alſo reſerved fifteen rights for themſelves, and two for their attorneys ; all of which were to be free from taxes, till ſold or occupied. By virtue of theſe grants, many townſhips were ſettled, and the intereſt of the people became ſo united with that of the proprietors, that the prejudice againſt them gradually abated ; and, at length, even ſome who had been the moſt violent oppoſers, acquieſced in the ſafety and policy of their meaſures, though they could not concede to the validity of their claim.

The heirs of Allen, menaced them by advertiſements, and warned the people againſt accepting their grants. They depended on the recognition of Allen's purchaſe, in the Charter of Maſſachuſetts, as an argument in favor of its validity ; and ſuppoſed, that becauſe the ableſt lawyers in the kingdom were conſulted, and employed in framing that charter, they muſt have had evidence of the juſtice of his pretenſions, before ſuch a reſervation could have been introduced into it. So ſtrong was the impreſſion, which this argument had made, on the minds of ſpeculators in England, that large ſums had been offered, to ſome of Allen's heirs, in that kingdom ; and, Thomlinſon himſelf, the firſt mover of the purchaſe from Maſon, in be- MS letters of Thomlinſon.

1748. half of New-Hampſhire, had his doubts; and would have perſuaded the aſſociates to join in buying Allen's title alſo, even at the price of two thouſand pounds ſterling, to prevent a more expenſive litigation, the iſſue of which would be uncertain. But they, being veſted with the principal offices of government; being men of large property, which was alſo increaſed by this purchaſe; and having ſatisfied themſelves, of the validity of their title, by the opinions of ſome principal lawyers, both here and in England, contented themſelves with the purchaſe which they had made; and by maintaining their poſſeſſion, extended the cultivation of the country within their limits.

The words of the original grants to Maſon, deſcribe an extent of ſixty miles, from the ſea, on each ſide of the Province, and a line to *croſs over* from the end of one line of ſixty miles, to the end of the other. The Maſonian proprietors pleaded, that this croſs line ſhould be a *curve*, becauſe, no other line would preſerve the diſtance of ſixty miles from the ſea, in every part of their weſtern boundary. No perſon had any right to conteſt this point with them, but the King. It was not for the intereſt of his Governor and Council to object; becauſe ſeveral of them, and of their connections, were of the Maſonian propriety; and no objection was made by any other perſons, in behalf of the Crown. Surveyors were employed, at ſeveral times, to mark this curve line; but on running, firſt from the ſouthern, and then from the eaſtern boundary, to the river Pemigewaſſet, they could not make the lines

meet. Controverſies were thus engendered, 1748.
between the grantees of Crown lands and thoſe of the Maſonians, which ſubſiſted for many years. In ſome caſes, the diſputes were compromiſed, and in others, left open for litigation; till, by the revolution, the government fell into other hands.

This was not the only controverſy, which, till that period, remained undetermined. When the extenſion of the boundary lines gave birth to a demand, for the maintenance of fort Dummer, the Governor had the address, to call to that Aſſembly, into which he introduced this demand, ſix new members; who appeared as repreſentatives for ſix towns and diſtricts, ſome of which had been, by the ſouthern line, cut off from Maſſachuſetts. It was ſuppoſed that his deſign, in calling theſe members, was to facilitate the adoption of fort Dummer. Other towns, which ought to have had the ſame privilege extended to them, were neglected. When the new members appeared in the Houſe, the Secretary, by the Governor's order, adminiſtered to them the uſual oaths; after which, they were aſked, in the name of the Houſe, by what authority they came thither? They anſwered, that they were choſen by virtue of a writ, in the King's name, delivered to their reſpective towns and diſtricts, by the Sheriff. The Houſe remonſtrated to the Governor, that theſe places had no right, by law, nor by cuſtom, to ſend perſons to repreſent them, and then debarred them from the privilege of voting, in the choice of a Speaker; two only diſſenting, out of nineteen. Several ſharp meſſages paſſed, between the Governor and

Printed Journal, Jan. 1744.

1748. the Houſe, on that occaſion; but the preſſing exigencies of the war, and the propoſed expedition to Cape-Breton, obliged him, for that time, to give way, and ſuffer his new members to be excluded, till the King's pleaſure could be known.

The Houſe vindicated their proceedings, by appealing to their records; from which it appeared, that all the additions, which had been made to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, were, in conſequence of their own votes, either iſſuing a precept themſelves, or requeſting the Governor to do it; from which they argued, that no town, or pariſh, ought to have any writ, for the choice of a Repreſentative, but by a vote of the Houſe, or by an act of the Aſſembly. On the other ſide, it was alleged, that the right of ſending Repreſentatives was originally founded on the royal commiſſion and inſtructions, and therefore, that the privilege might, by the ſame authority, be lawfully extended to the new towns, as the King, or his Governor, by advice of Council, might think proper. The precedents on both ſides were undiſputed; but neither party would admit the concluſion drawn by the other. Had this difficulty been foreſeen, it might have been prevented when the triennial act was made in 1727. The defects of that law, began now to be ſeverely felt; but could not be remedied.

The diſpute having thus ſubſided, was not revived during the war; but as ſoon as the peace was made, and the King had gone on a viſit to his German dominions, an additional inſtruction was ſent from the Lords Juſtices, who preſided in the King's abſence, di-

Douglaſs H. 35.

recting the Governor to diſſolve the Aſſembly then ſubſiſting; and when another ſhould be called, to iſſue the King's writ to the Sheriff, commanding him to make out precepts to the towns and diſtricts, whoſe Repreſentatives had been before excluded; and that when they ſhould be choſen, the Governor ſhould ſupport their rights. 1748. June 20.

Had this inſtruction extended to all the other towns in the Province, which had not been before repreſented, it might have been deemed equitable; but as it reſpected thoſe only, which had been the ſubject of controverſy, it appeared to be grounded on partial information, and intended to ſtrengthen the prerogative of the Crown, without a due regard to the privileges of the people at large.

The party in oppoſition to the Governor became more acrimonious than ever. Richard Waldron, the former Secretary, and the confidential friend of Belcher, appeared in the new Aſſembly and was choſen Speaker. The Governor negatived him; and ordered the Houſe to admit the new members, and chooſe another ſpeaker. They denied his power of negativing their Speaker and of introducing new members. The ſtyle of his meſſages was peremptory and ſevere; their anſwers and remonſtrances were calm, but reſolute, and in ſome inſtances ſatyrical. Neither party would yield; no buſineſs was tranſacted; though the aſſembly met about once in a month, and was kept alive, by adjournments and prorogations, for three years. Had he diſſolved them, before the time for which they were choſen had expired, he knew, that in all probability, the ſame perſons would be re-elected. 1749. January 3.

1749. The effect of this controverſy was injurious to the Governor, as well as to the people. The public bills of credit had depreciated ſince this adminiſtration began, in the ratio of thirty to fifty-ſix; and the value of the Governor's ſalary had declined in the ſame proportion. The exciſe could neither be farmed nor collected; and that part of the Governor's ſalary, which was funded upon it, failed. The Treaſurer's accounts were unſettled. The ſoldiers, who had guarded the frontiers in the preceding war, were not paid; nor were their muſter-rolls adjuſted. The public records of deeds were ſhut up; for the Recorder's time having expired, and the appointment being by law veſted in the Aſſembly, no choice could be made. No authenticated papers could be obtained, though the agent was conſtantly ſoliciting for thoſe which related to the controverſy about Fort Dummer, at that time before the King and Council.

When the ſituation of the Province was
1750. known in England, an impreſſion to its diſ-
1751. advantage was made on the minds of its beſt friends; and they even imagined that the Governor's conduct was not blameleſs.*

* Auguſt 10, 1749, Mr. Thomlinſon wrote thus to Mr. Atkinſon. 'I am ſorry to find by your letters, and by every body from your country, the confuſion your Province is in. I wiſh I could ſet you right. I cannot help thinking that the Governor has done ſome imprudent things; but the other party is fundamentally wrong, and the Governor will always be ſupported as long as he conducts himſelf by his Majeſty's inſtructions, and in his right of negativing a ſpeaker. Notwithſtanding this, I am ſurpriſed that he, or any other Governor, ſhould not think it their intereſt, to behave ſo to all ſorts of people under their government, as to make all their enemies their friends, rather than to make their friends their enemies.'

October 19, 1749, Mr. Atkinſon wrote thus in anſwer. 'I am ſuppoſed by many people to be privy to all the Governor's tranſactions here, which is totally without foundation. I never ſaw a letter which he wrote home, nor any he received, only, when any of them

The language at Court was totally changed. The people of New-Hampshire who had formerly been in favor, as loyal and obedient subjects, were now said to be in rebellion. Their agent was frequently reproached and mortified on their account, and was under great apprehension, that they would suffer, not only in their reputation, but in their interest. The agent of Massachusetts was continually soliciting for repayment of the charges of maintaining fort Dummer, and it was in contemplation, to take off a large district from the western part of New-Hampshire, and to annex it to Massachusetts, to satisfy them for that expense. Besides this, the paper money of the Colonies was under the consideration of Parliament; and the Province of Massachusetts was rising into favor for having abolished that system of iniquity. The same justice was expected of New-Hampshire, since they had the same means in their power by the reimbursement granted to them by Parliament for the Cape-Breton and Canada expeditions. This money, amounting to about thirty thousand pounds sterling, clear of all fees and commissions, had lain long in the treasury; and when it was paid to the agent, he would have placed it in the funds, where it might have yielded an interest of three per cent; but having no directions from the Assembly, he locked it up in the bank. This

1749. 1750. 1751.

Thomlinson's MS letters.

'were communicated to the Council or Assembly; nor any of his 'speeches or messages. So that, really, I cannot be said to advise. 'Neither do I see What reason the people have to complain. His 'greatest enemies are now of the Assembly, and in all the controver-'sy, not one particular instance of injustice or oppression hath been men-'tioned by them; and when you read over their several messages, and 'votes, you will not discover any inclination to conceal the least fail-'ing he had been the author of.'

1749. was a clear loſs to them of nine hundred
1750. pounds per annum. There were ſome who
1751. reflected on the agent, as if he had made an advantage to himſelf of this money. Had he done it, his own capital was ſufficient to have anſwered any of their demands; but it was alſo ſufficient to put him above the neceſſity of employing their money, either in trade or ſpeculation.

It had alſo been ſuggeſted, that Thomlinſon, at the Governor's requeſt, had ſolicited and procured the inſtruction, which had occaſioned this unhappy ſtagnation of buſineſs. When this ſuggeſtion came to his knowledge, he exculpated himſelf from the charge, in a letter which he wrote to a leading member of the Aſſembly; and gave a full account of the matter as far as it had come to his knowledge. He ſaid, that the Governor himſelf had ſtated the facts in his letters to the miniſtry; concerning his calling of the new members, in 1745, and their excluſion from the Aſſembly, with the reaſons given for it; and had deſired to know the King's pleaſure, and to have directions how to act. That the miniſtry, without any exception or heſitation, had pronounced his conduct conformable to his duty. That nevertheleſs, the Board of Trade had ſolemnly conſidered the matter, and conſulted Council, and had ſummoned him, as agent of the Province, to attend their deliberation. Their reſult was, that as the Crown had an indiſputable right to incorporate any town in England, and qualify it to ſend members to Parliament, ſo the ſame right and power had been legally

MS. letter of Thomlinſon to H. Sherburne, Nov. 13, 1749.

given to all the Governors in America; by means of which, all the Aſſemblies in the King's governments, had increaſed in number, as the Colonies had increaſed in ſettlements. That any other uſage in calling Repreſentatives was wrong; although it might have been indulged, when the Province was under the ſame Governor with Maſſachuſetts. This was all which paſſed before the additional inſtruction came out, which was ſent through the hands of the Agent. As it was founded on a queſtion concerning the rights and prerogatives of the Crown; he argued the abſurdity of ſuppoſing, either that it had been ſolicited, or that any attempt to have it withdrawn could be effectual. His advice was, that they ſhould ſubmit to it; becauſe, that under it, they would enjoy the ſame rights and privileges with their fellow ſubjects in England, and in the other Colonies; aſſuring them, that the then reigning Prince had never diſcovered the leaſt inclination to infringe the conſtitutional rights of any of his ſubjects. 1749. 1750. 1751.

This advice, however ſalutary, had not the intended effect. Inſtead of ſubmitting, the party in oppoſition to the Governor, framed a complaint againſt him, and ſent it to London, to be preſented to the King. If they could have prevailed, their next meaſure would have been, to recommend a gentleman, Sir William Pepperell, of Maſſachuſetts, for his ſucceſſor. This manœuvre came to the ears of Thomlinſon; but he was under no neceſſity to exert himſelf on this occaſion; for the perſon to whoſe care the addreſs was intruſted, conſidering the

1749. abſurdity of complaining to the King,
1750. againſt his Governor, for acting agreeably
1751. to his inſtructions, was adviſed not to preſent it. This diſappointment vexed the oppoſition to ſuch a degree, that they would have gladly diſſolved the government, and put themſelves under the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſetts, had it been in their power. But, finding all their efforts ineffectual, either to have the inſtruction withdrawn, or the Governor removed, they conſoled themſelves with this thought, that it was 'better 'to have two privileges taken from them, 'than voluntarily to give up one.'

MS letters of Thomlinſon.

1752. The time for which this Aſſembly was elected having expired, a new one was called in the ſame manner. They came together with a ſpirit of moderation, and a diſpoſition to tranſact the long neglected buſineſs. The members, from the new towns, quietly took their ſeats. An unexceptionable Speaker, Meſhech Weare, was elected. A Recorder was appointed. A committee was choſen to ſettle the Treaſurer's accounts, and a vote was paſſed for putting the reimburſement money into the public funds in England. The Governor's ſalary was augmented, and all things went on ſmoothly. The party which had been oppoſed to the Governor, declined, in number and in virulence: Some had been removed by death; others were ſoftened and relaxed. A liberal diſtribution of commiſſions, civil and military, was made, and an era of domeſtic reconciliation commenced.

January 2.

Records of Aſſembly.

Atkinſon's MS. letters.

The controverſy reſpecting Fort Dummer, and the fear of loſing a diſtrict in that neigh-

bourhood, quickened the Governor to make grants of ſeveral townſhips in that quarter, on both ſides of Connecticut river; chiefly to thoſe perſons who claimed the ſame lands, under the Maſſachuſetts title. The war being over, the old inhabitants returned to their plantations, and were ſtrengthened by additions to their number. It was in contemplation, to extend the ſettlements, farther up Connecticut river, to the rich meadows of Cohos. The plan was, to cut a road to that place; to lay out two townſhips, one on each ſide of the river, and oppoſite to each other; to erect ſtockades, with lodgments for two hundred men, in each townſhip, enclo-ſing a ſpace of fifteen acres; in the centre of which was to be a citadel, containing the public buildings and granaries, which were to be large enough to receive all the inhabitants, and their moveable effects in caſe of neceſſity. As an inducement to people to remove to this new plantation; they were to have Courts of Judicature, and other civil privileges among themſelves, and were to be under ſtrict military diſcipline. A large number of perſons engaged in this enterpriſe; and they were the rather ſtimulated to undertake it, becauſe it was feared, that the French, who had already begun to encroach on the territory claimed by the Britiſh Crown, would take poſſeſſion of this valuable tract, if it ſhould be left unoccupied. 1752. Atkinſon's MS letters.

In purſuance of this plan, a party was ſent up in the ſpring of 1752, to view the meadows of Cohos, and lay out the propoſed townſhips. The Indians obſerved them, and ſuſpected their intentions. The land was MS. letters of Col. Iſrael Williams.

1752. theirs, and they knew its value. A party of the Aroſaguntacook, or St. Francis Tribe was deputed, to remonſtrate againſt this proceeding. They came to the fort at Number-four, with a flag of truce; pretending that they had not heard of the treaty of peace, which had been made with the ſeveral Indian tribes. They complained to Captain Stevens, of the encroachment which was meditating on their land; and ſaid, that they could not allow the Engliſh to ſettle at Cohos, when they owned more land already than they could improve; and, that if this ſettlement were purſued, they ſhould think the Engliſh had a mind for war, and would reſiſt them. This threatening being communicated to the Governor of Maſſachuſetts, and by him to the Governor of New-Hampſhire, threw ſuch diſcouragement on the project that it was laid aſide.

April. The Indians did not content themſelves with remonſtrating and threatening. Two of the ſame tribe named Sabatis and Chriſti, MS. depoſitions. came to Canterbury; where they were entertained in a friendly manner for more than a month. At their departure, they forced away two negroes; one of whom eſcaped and returned; and the other was carried to Crown Point and ſold to a French officer. A party of ten or twelve of the ſame tribe, commanded by Captain Moſes, met with four young men who were hunting on Baker's river. One May. Shirley's Printed conferrence 1754. of theſe was John Stark. When he found himſelf ſurpriſed and fallen into their hands, he called to his brother William Stark, who being in a canoe, gained the oppoſite ſhore, Information of W. Stark. and eſcaped. They fired at the canoe and killed a young man who was in it. John

received a ſevere beating from the Indians for alarming his brother. They carried him and his companion, Eaſtman, up Connecticut river, through ſeveral carrying places, and down the Lake Memphrimagog to the head quarters of their tribe. There they dreſſed him in their fineſt robes and adopted him as a ſon. This early captivity, from which he was redeemed, qualified him to be an expert partiſan, in the ſucceeding war; from which ſtation, he afterward roſe to the rank of Brigadier General in the armies of the United States. 1752.

The next year Sabatis, with another Indian named Plauſawa, came to Canterbury; where, being reproached with the miſconduct reſpecting the negroes, he and his companion behaved in an inſolent manner. Several perſons treated them very freely with ſtrong liquor. One followed them into the woods, and killed them, and by the help of another, buried them; but ſo ſhallow that their bodies were devoured by beaſts of prey, and their bones lay on the ground. By the treaties of peace, it had been ſtipulated, on the one part, that if any of the Indians ſhould commit an act of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh, their young men ſhould join with the Engliſh in reducing ſuch Indians to ſubmiſſion; and on the other hand, that if an Engliſhman ſhould injure any of them, no private revenge ſhould be taken; but application ſhould be made to the government for juſtice. In the autumn of the ſame year, a conference being held, with the eaſtern Indians, by the government of Maſſachuſetts, a preſent was made to the Aroſa- 1753. June. MS depoſitions.

1753. guntacook tribe, expreſſive of an intention to wipe away the blood. They accepted the preſent, and ratified the peace which had been made in 1749.

Printed conference, 1753.

1754. The two men who killed Sabatis and Plauſawa, were apprehended and brought to Portſmouth. A bill was found againſt them by the Grand Jury, and they were confined in irons. In the night, before the day appointed for their trial, an armed mob from the country, with axes and crows, forced the priſon, and carried them off in triumph. A proclamation was iſſued, and a reward offered by the Governor for apprehending the rioters; but no diſcovery was made, and the action was even deemed meritorious. The next ſummer, another conference was held at Falmouth, at which Commiſſioners from New-Hampſhire aſſiſted. The Aroſaguntacooks did not attend; but ſent a meſſage purporting that the blood was not wiped away. The Commiſſioners from New-Hampſhire made a handſome preſent, to all the Indians, who appeared at this conference; which ended as uſual, in the promiſe of peace and friendſhip.

MS letters of Governor Wentworth.

Printed conference.

CHAP. XXII.

The laſt French and Indian war, which terminated in the conqueſt of Canada. Controverſy concerning the lands weſtward of Connecticut river.

BY the treaty of Aix la Chappelle, in 1748, it was ſtipulated, that 'all things 'ſhould be reſtored, on the footing they were 'before the war.' The iſland of Cape-Breton was accordingly reſtored to France; but the limits of the French and Engliſh territories on the continent, were undetermined; and it was the policy of both nations to gain poſſeſſion of important paſſes, to which each had ſome pretenſions, and to hold them, till the limits ſhould be ſettled by Commiſſioners mutually choſen. Theſe commiſſioners met at Paris; but came to no deciſion. By the conſtruction of charters and grants from the Crown of England, her colonies extended indefinitely weſtward. The French had ſettlements in Canada and Louiſiana, and they meditated to join theſe diſtant Colonies, by a chain of forts and poſts, from the St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſippi; and to extend the limits of Canada, as far eaſtward, as to command navigation in the winter, when the great river St. Lawrence is impaſſable. Theſe claims of territory, extending on the one part from eaſt to weſt, and on the other from north to ſouth, neceſſarily interfered. The Colonies of Nova-Scotia, New-York and Virginia, were principally affected by this interference; and the encroachments made on

Printed treaty.

them by the French, were a ſubject of complaint, both here and in Europe.

It was foreſeen that this controverſy could not be decided but by the ſword; and the 1754. Engliſh determined to be early in their preparations. The Earl of Holderneſs, Secretary of State, wrote to the Governors of the American Colonies, recommending *union* for their mutual protection and defence. A meeting of Commiſſioners from the Colonies, at Albany, having been appointed, for the purpoſe of holding a conference with the Six Nations, on the ſubject of French encroachments, within their country; it was propoſed, by Governor Shirley, to the ſeveral Governors, that the delegates ſhould be inſtructed on the ſubject of union.

Shirley's letters and ſpeeches.

At the place appointed, the Congreſs was June 19. held; conſiſting of delegates from Maſſachuſetts, New-Hampſhire, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, Pennſylvania and Maryland; with Atkinſon's MS. Journal. the Lieutenant Governor and Council of New-York. They took their rank in geographical order, beginning at the north. One member from each Colony was appointed to draw a plan of union; Hutchinſon of Maſſachuſetts, Atkinſon of New-Hampſhire, Hopkins of Rhode-Iſland, Pitkin of Connecticut, Smith of New-York, Franklin of Pennſylvania, and Taſker of Maryland. The ſubſtance of the plan was, that application be made, for an act of Parliament, to form a grand Council, conſiſting of delegates from the ſeveral legiſlative Aſſemblies, ſubject to the control of a Preſident-General, to be appointed by the Crown, with a negative voice. That this Council ſhould enact general laws;

apportion the quotas of men and money, to be raiſed by each Colony; determine the building of forts; regulate the operations of armies; and concert all meaſures for the common protection and ſafety. The delegates of Connecticut alone, entered their diſſent to the plan, becauſe of the negative voice of the Preſident-General. It is worthy of remark, that this plan, for the union of the Colonies, was agreed to, on the *fourth day of July*; exactly twenty-two years before the declaration of American Independence, and that the name of FRANKLIN appears in both.* 1754.

With the plan of union, a repreſentation was made to the King, of the danger in which the Colonies were involved. Copies of both were laid before the ſeveral Aſſemblies. They were fully ſenſible of their danger from the French; but they apprehended greater danger from the plan of union. Its fate was ſingular. It was rejected in America, becauſe it was ſuppoſed to put too much power into the hands of the King; and it was rejected in England, becauſe it was ſuppoſed to give too much power to the Aſſemblies of the Colonies. The miniſtry made another propoſal; that the Governor, with one or two members of the Council, of each Colony, ſhould aſſemble, and conſult for the common defence, and draw on the Britiſh treaſury for the ſums expended; which ſhould be raiſed by a general tax, laid

Franklin's Examination. 1766.

* At this Congreſs, a preſent from the Crown was diſtributed to the Indians The Commiſſioners of New-Hampſhire, Atkinſon, Wibird, Sherburne and Weare, by direction of the Aſſembly, made them a ſeparate preſent. It is a cuſtom among the Six Nations, to give a NAME to their benefactors on ſuch occaſions. The name which they gave to the Province of New-Hampſhire was *So-ſâquax-owâne*. I have inquired of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, the meaning of this name: He informed me that *So* ſignifies, AGAIN; *ſâquax*, a DISH; and *owâne*, LARGE.

1754. by Parliament, on the Colonies. But this was not a time to puſh ſuch an alarming innovation; and when it was found impracticable, the miniſtry determined to employ their own troops, to fight their battles in America, rather than to let the Coloniſts feel their own ſtrength, and be directed by their own Counſels.

To draw ſome aid however from the Colonies was neceſſary. Their militia might ſerve as guards, or rangers, or laborers, or do garriſon duty, or be employed in other inferior offices; but Britiſh troops, commanded by Britiſh officers, muſt have the *honor* of reducing the French dominions in North America.

The ſavage nations in the French intereſt were always ready, on the firſt appearance of a rupture, to take up the hatchet. It was the policy of the French government, to encourage their depredations, on the frontiers of the Engliſh Colonies, to which they had a native antipathy. By this means, the French could make their enemies pay the whole expenſe of a war; for all the ſupplies, which they afforded to the Indians, were amply compenſated, by the ranſom of captives. In theſe later wars, therefore, we find the ſavages more dextrous in taking captives, and more tender of them when taken, than in former wars; which were carried on with circumſtances of greater cruelty.

No ſooner had the alarm of hoſtilities, which commenced between the Engliſh and French, in the weſtern part of Virginia, ſpread through the continent; than the Indians renewed their attacks on the frontiers of New-Hampſhire.

Aug. 15. A party of them made an aſſault, on a family

at Baker's-town, on Pemigewaſſet river; where they killed a woman, and took ſeveral captives. Within three days they killed a man and woman at Steven's town in the ſame neighbourhood; upon which the ſettlements were broken up, and the people retired to the lower towns for ſafety, and the government was obliged to poſt ſoldiers in the deſerted places. After a few days more, they broke into the houſe of James Johnſon, at Number-four, early in the morning, before any of the family were awake; and took him, with his wife and three children, her ſiſter Miriam Willard, and two men, Peter Laboree and Ebenezer Farnſworth. The ſurpriſal was complete and bloodleſs, and they carried them off undiſturbed. The next day Johnſon's wife was delivered of a daughter, who from the circumſtance of its birth was named *Captive*. The Indians halted one day, on the woman's account, and the next day reſumed their march; carrying her on a litter, which they made for the purpoſe, and afterwards put her on horſe-back. On their march, they were diſtreſſed for proviſion; and killed the horſe for food; the infant was nouriſhed, by ſucking pieces of its fleſh. When they arrived at Montreal, Johnſon obtained a parole, of two months, to return and ſolicit the means of redemption. He applied to the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire, and after ſome delay obtained one hundred and fifty pounds ſterling. But the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, and the winter proved ſo ſevere, that he did not reach Canada till the ſpring. He was then charged with breaking his parole; a great part of his money was taken from him by violence;

1754.

Aug 18. Council minutes.

Aug. 29. Olcott's MS. letter.

Dec. 19. Aſſembly Records.

1754. and, he was ſhut up with his family in priſon; where they took the ſmall pox, which they happily ſurvived. After eighteen months, the woman, with her ſiſter, and two daughters, were ſent in a cartel ſhip to England; and thence returned to Boſton. Johnſon was kept in priſon three years; and then, with his ſon, returned and met his wife in Boſton; where he had the ſingular ill fortune, to be ſuſpected of deſigns unfriendly to his country, and was again impriſoned; but no evidence being produced againſt him, he was liberated. His eldeſt daughter was retained in a Canadian nunnery.

The fort and ſettlement at Number-four, being in an expoſed ſituation, required aſſiſtance and ſupport. It had been built by Maſſachuſetts when it was ſuppoſed to be within its limits. It was projected by Colonel Stoddard, of Northampton, and was well ſituated, in connection with the other forts, on the weſtern frontier, to command all the paths by which the Indians travelled from Canada to New-England. It was now evidently in New-Hampſhire; and Shirley, by advice of his Council, applied to Wentworth, recommending the future maintenance of that poſt, to the care of his Aſſembly; but they did not think themſelves intereſted in its preſervation, and refuſed to make any proviſion for it. The inhabitants made ſeveral applications for the ſame purpoſe; but were uniformly diſappointed. They then made preſſing remonſtrances to the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts, who ſent ſoldiers for the defence of that poſt, and of Fort Dummer, till 1757; when they ſuppoſed that the commander in

Shirley's MS. letters.

Maſſachuſ. Records.

chief of the King's forces would take them under his care, as royal garriſons. It was alſo recommended to the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire to build a fort at Cohos; but this propoſal met the ſame fate. 1754.

The next ſpring, three expeditions were undertaken againſt the French forts. One againſt Fort Duqueſne, on the Ohio, was conducted by General Braddock; who was defeated and ſlain. Another againſt Niagara, by Governor Shirley, which miſcarried; and a third againſt Crown Point, by General Johnſon. For this laſt expedition, New-Hampſhire raiſed five hundred men, and put them under the command of Col. Joſeph Blanchard. The Governor ordered them to Connecticut river, to build a fort at Cohos, ſuppoſing it to be in their way to Crown Point. They firſt marched to Baker's-town, where they began to build batteaux, and conſumed time and proviſions to no purpoſe. By Shirley's advice they quitted that futile employment, and made a fatiguing march through the woods, by the way of Number-four, to Albany. Whilſt Johnſon lay encamped at Lake George, with his other forces, he poſted the New-Hampſhire regiment at Fort Edward. On the eighth of September, he was attacked in his camp, by Baron Dieſkau, commanding a body of French regular troops, Canadians and Savages. On the morning of that day, a ſcouting party from Fort Edward diſcovered waggons burning in the road; upon which Captain Nathaniel Folſom was ordered out, with eighty of the New-Hampſhire regiment, and forty of New-York under Capt. McGennis. When they came to the 1755. Sept. 8.

1755. place, they found the waggoners and the cattle dead; but no enemy was there. Hearing the report of guns, toward the lake, they hasted thither; and having approached within two miles, found the baggage of the French army, under the care of a guard, whom they attacked and dispersed. When the retreating army of Dieskau appeared, about four of the clock in the afternoon, Folsom posted his men among the trees, and kept up a well directed fire, till night; the enemy retired, with great loss, and he made his way to the camp, carrying his own wounded, and several French prisoners, with many of the enemy's packs. This well-timed engagement, in which but six men on our side were lost, deprived the French army of their ammunition and baggage; the remains of which were brought into camp the next day. After this, the regiment of New-Hampshire joined the army. The men were employed in scouting, which service they performed in a manner so acceptable, that no other duty was required of them. Parties of them frequently went within view of the French fort at Crown-Point; and at one time they brought off the scalp of a French soldier, whom they killed near the gate.

Folsom's information.

Johnson's printed letter.

Atkinson's MS. letters.

After the engagement on the 8th of September, when it was found necessary to reinforce the army; a second regiment, of three hundred men, was raised in New-Hampshire, and put under the command of Col. Peter Gilman. These men were as alert, and indefatigable as their brethren, though they had not opportunity to give such convincing evidence of it. The expedition was no far-

ther purſued; and late in autumn the forces were diſbanded and returned home. 1755.

The exertions made for the reduction of Crown Point, not only failed of their object, but provoked the Indians, to execute their miſchievous deſigns, againſt the frontiers of New-Hampſhire; which were wholly uncovered, and expoſed to their full force. Between the rivers Connecticut and St. Francis, there is a ſafe and eaſy communication by ſhort carrying-places, with which they were perfectly acquainted. The Indians of that river, therefore, made frequent incurſions, and returned unmoleſted with their priſoners and booty.

At New-Hopkinton, they took a man and a boy; but perceiving the approach of a ſcouting party, they fled and left their captives. At Keene, they took Benjamin Twitchel, and at Walpole they killed Daniel Twitchel, and a man named Flynt. At the ſame place Colonel Bellows, at the head of twenty men, met with a party of fifty Indians; and having exchanged ſome ſhot, and killed ſeveral of the enemy, he broke through them and got into the fort; not one man of his company being killed or wounded. After a few days, theſe Indians, being joined by others to the number of one hundred and ſeventy, aſſaulted the garriſon of John Kilburne, in which were himſelf, John Pike, two boys and ſeveral women; who bravely defended the houſe and obliged the enemy to retire, with conſiderable loſs. Pike was mortally wounded. Some of theſe Indians joined Dieſkau's army, and were in the battle at Lake George. At Number-four, they killed a large number

Sumner's MS. letter.

Feſſenden's MS letter.

1755. of cattle, and cut off the flesh. At Hinsdale, they attacked a party, who were at work in the woods; killed John Hardiclay and John Alexander, and took Jonathan Colby; the others escaped to the fort. Within a few days afterward, they ambushed Caleb Howe, Hilkiah Grout, and Benjamin Gaffield, as they were returning from their labor in the field. Howe was killed; Gaffield was drowned in attempting to cross the river; and Grout made his escape. The Indians went directly to Bridgman's fort, where the families of these unfortunate men resided. They had heard the report of the guns, and were impatient to learn the cause. By the sound of feet without, it being in the dusk of the evening, they concluded that their friends had returned, and too hastily opened the gate to receive them; when to their inexpressible surprise, they admitted the savages, and the three families, consisting of fourteen persons, were made captives.*

Gay's MS letter.

July 27.

After the defeat and death of Braddock, the chief command of the operations against the enemy fell into the hands of Shirley; who called another Congress, at New-York, and planned another expedition against Crown Point; for which purpose, he called on the several governments to raise men and provide stores. A regiment was raised in New-

Shirley's letters.

* One of these the wife of Caleb Howe, was the FAIR CAPTIVE, of whom such a brilliant account is given in the life of General Putnam, published by Col. Humphreys. She is still living at Hinsdale, and has obliged the author with a particular narrative of her sufferings and deliverance. This account, drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Gay, is too long to be here inserted, and too entertaining to be abridged; but will probably be published at some future time. As to that part of the story, that the people of Hinsdale chose her to go to Europe, as their agent in a case of disputed lands; it was never known or thought of by them till the life of Putnam appeared in print. Gay's MS. letter.

Hampſhire, the command of which was given to Col. Nathaniel Meſſervè. They alſo appointed two Commiſſaries, Peter Gilman and Thomas Weſtbrooke Waldron, who reſided at Albany, to take care of the ſtores, whilſt the regiment, with the other troops, aſſiſted in building forts and batteaux. In the midſt of this campaign, Shirley was ſuperſeded by the Earl of Loudon; but the ſummer paſſed away in fruitleſs labor; whilſt the French, by their ſuperior alertneſs, beſieged and took the Engliſh fort at Oſwego; and the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell who garriſoned it, were ſent priſoners to France. During this ſummer, the Indians killed Lieutenant Moſes Willard, and wounded his ſon at Number-four; and took Joſiah Foſter, with his wife and two children, from Wincheſter. They alſo wounded Zebulon Stebbins, of Hinſdale, who, with Reuben Wright, diſcovered an ambuſh, and prevented the captivity of ſeveral perſons for whom the Indians were lying in wait.

1756.

July 23. Loudon's MS. letters.

Gay, Sumner and Olcott's MS. letters.

The ſoldiers of New-Hampſhire were ſo expert, in every ſervice which required agility, and ſo habituated to fatigue and danger; that, by the expreſs deſire of Lord Loudon, three ranging companies were formed of them; who continued in ſervice during the winter as well as the ſummer. The command of theſe companies was given to Robert Rogers, John Stark, and William Stark. They were eminently uſeful in ſcouring the woods, procuring intelligence, and ſkirmiſhing with detached parties of the enemy. Theſe companies were kept during the war, in the pay of the Crown; and after the peace,

Lord Loudon's MS. letters.

1756. the officers were allowed half pay on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment.

1757. The next year, another Crown Point expedition was projected by Lord Loudon. The Crown was at the expenſe of ſtores and proviſions, and required of the Colonies, to raiſe, arm, clothe, and pay their quotas of men. Another regiment was raiſed in New-Hampſhire, of which Meſſervè was commander; who went to Halifax with part of his regiment, a body of one hundred carpenters, and the three companies of Rangers, to ſerve under Lord Loudon, whilſt the other part of the regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Goffe, was ordered by General Webb, who commanded at the weſtward, in the abſence of the Earl of Loudon, to rendezvous at Number-four. Before their arrival, a large party of French and Indians attacked the mills in that place, and took Sampſon Colefax, David Farnſworth and Thomas Adams. The inhabitants, hearing the guns, advanced to the mills; but finding the enemy in force, prudently retreated. The enemy burned the mills; and in their retreat, took two other men, who were coming in from hunting, viz. Thomas Robins and Aſa Spafford. Farnſworth and Robins returned; the others died in Canada.

Olcott's MS. letters.

Goffe with his men marched through Number-four and joined General Webb at Albany; who poſted them at fort William Henry, near Lake George, under the command of Col. Munroe, of the thirty-fifth Britiſh regiment. The French General Montcalm, at the head of a large body of Canadians and Indians, with a train of artillery, inveſted this fort; and in ſix days, the garriſon, after having expended

Aug. 3.

all their ammunition, capitulated; on condition that they ſhould not ſerve againſt the French for eighteen months. They were allowed the honors of war, and were to be eſcorted by the French troops to Fort Edward, with their private baggage. The Indians, who ſerved in this expedition, *on the promiſe of plunder*, were enraged at the terms granted to the garriſon; and, as they marched out unarmed, fell upon them, ſtripped them naked, and murdered all who made any reſiſtance. The New-Hampſhire regiment happening to be in the rear, felt the chief fury of the enemy. Out of two hundred, eighty were killed and taken. 1757. Aug. 9. N. Hampſhire Gaz. No. 49.

This melancholy event threw the whole country into the deepeſt conſternation. Webb, who remained at Fort Edward, expecting to be there attacked, ſent expreſſes to all the Provinces for reinforcements. The French, however, did not purſue their advantage, but returned to Canada. A reinforcement of two hundred and fifty men was raiſed in New-Hampſhire, under the command of Major Thomas Taſh; which, by the orders of General Webb, was ſtationed at Number-four. This was the firſt time that the troops of New-Hampſhire occupied that important poſt. MS. letters of Governor Wentworth.

Hitherto the war had been, on our part, unſucceſsful. The great expenſe, the frequent diſappointments, the loſs of men, of forts, and of ſtores, were very diſcouraging. The enemy's country was filled with priſoners, and ſcalps, private plunder, and public ſtores and proviſions, which our people, as beaſts of burden, had conveyed to them.

1757. These reflections were the dismal entertainment of the winter. The next spring called for fresh exertions; and happily for America, the British ministry had been changed, and the direction of the war, in answer to the united voice of the people of England, was put into the hands of that decisive statesman WILLIAM PITT.

1758. In his circular letter to the American Governors, he assured them; that to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive campaign, it was determined to send a formidable force, to operate by sea and land, against the French in America; and he called upon them to raise 'as large bodies of men, 'within their respective governments, as the 'number of inhabitants might allow;' leaving it to them, to form the regiments and to appoint officers at their discretion. He informed them that arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, and boats would be furnished by the Crown; and he required the Colonies to levy, clothe and pay their men; assuring them that recommendations would be made to Parliament 'to grant them a compensation.'

Original MS.

Governor's Proclamation, April 1.

Notwithstanding their former losses and disappointments, the Assembly of New-Hampshire, on receiving this requisition, cheerfully voted eight hundred men for the service of the year. The regiment commanded by Col. John Hart, marched to the westward, and served under General Abercrombie. A body of one hundred and eight carpenters, under the conduct of Colonel Messervè, embarked for Louisbourg, to serve at the second siege of that fortress, under General Amherst. Un-

happily the ſmall pox broke out among them, 1758.
which diſabled them from ſervice; all but
ſixteen were ſeized at once, and theſe attend-
ed the ſick. Meſſerve* and his eldeſt ſon
died of this fatal diſorder. This year was
remarkable for the ſecond ſurrender of Louiſ-
bourg; the unfortunate attack on the lines
of Ticonderoga, where Lord Howe was kill-
ed; the taking of fort Frontenac by Col.
Bradſtreet, and the deſtruction of fort du
Queſne on the Ohio, the contention for
which, began the war.

Amherſt's printed Journal, June 28.

In the courſe of this year, the Indians con-
tinued to infeſt the frontiers. At Hinſdale,
they killed Capt. Moore, and his ſon, took his
family, and burned his houſe. At Number-
four, they killed Aſahel Stebbins, and took
his wife, with Iſaac Parker and a ſoldier.
The cattle of this expoſed ſettlement, which
fed chiefly in the woods, at a diſtance from
the fort, often ſerved the enemy for provi-
ſions.

Gay's and Olcott's MS letters.

The next year, a ſimilar requiſition being 1759.
made by Secretary Pitt, New-Hampſhire raiſ-
ed a thouſand men for the ſervice, who were
regimented under the command of Col. Zac-
cheus Lovewell, ſon of the famous partiſan,
who loſt his life at Pigwacket. This regi-
ment joined the army at the weſtward, and
ſerved under General Amherſt in the *actual*
reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point,

* Colonel Meſſervè, was a gentleman of a fine mechanical genius. Being a ſhipwright by profeſſion, he attained to eminence in his buſineſs, and acquired a handſome fortune. His moral and ſocial character was unblemiſhed, and, in the military line, he was highly reſpected. The Earl of Loudon had ſuch a ſenſe of his merit, as to preſent him a piece of plate, with an inſcription, ackowledging 'his capacity, fidelity, and ready diſpoſition, in the ſervice of his country.'

New-Hampſhire Gazette, No. 97.

1759. and in building a new fortreſs at the laſt place. The ſucceſs of this ſummer was brilliant, beyond former example. The French fort at Niagara ſurrendered to General Johnſon; and the ſtrong city of Quebec was taken by the Britiſh troops under General Wolfe, who, with the French General Montcalm, was ſlain in the deciſive battle.

When the Britiſh arms had obtained a decided ſuperiority over the French, it was determined to chaſtiſe the Indians who had committed ſo many devaſtations on the frontiers of New-England. Major Robert Rogers was
Sept. 13. diſpatched from Crown Point, by General Amherſt, with about two hundred rangers, to deſtroy the Indian village of St. Francis. After a fatiguing march of twenty-one days, he came within ſight of the place, which he diſcovered from the top of a tree, and halted
Oct. 3. N. Hampſhire Gazette, No. 265. his men at the diſtance of three miles. In the evening, he entered the village in diſguiſe with two of his officers. The Indians were engaged in a grand dance, and he paſſed through them undiſcovered. Having formed his men into parties, and poſted them to advantage; he made a general aſſault, juſt before day, whilſt the Indians were aſleep. They were ſo completely ſurpriſed that little reſiſtance could be made. Some were killed in their houſes; and of thoſe who attempted to flee, many were ſhot or tomahawked by parties placed at the avenues. The dawn of day diſcloſed a horrid ſcene; and an edge was given to the fury of the aſſailants by the ſight of ſeveral hundred ſcalps of their countrymen, elevated on poles, and waving in the air. This village had been enriched with

the plunder of the frontiers and the ſale of captives. The houſes were well furniſhed, and the church was adorned with plate. The ſuddenneſs of the attack, and the fear of a purſuit, did not allow much time for pillage; but the rangers brought off ſuch things as were moſt convenient for tranſportation; among which were about two hundred guineas in money, a ſilver image weighing ten pounds, a large quantity of wampum and clothing. Having ſet fire to the village, Rogers made his retreat up the river St. Francis, intending that his men ſhould rendezvous at the upper Cohos, on Connecticut river. They took with them five Engliſh priſoners, whom they found at St. Francis, and about twenty Indians; but theſe laſt they diſmiſſed. Of the rangers, one man only was killed; and ſix or ſeven were wounded. In their retreat, they were purſued, and loſt ſeven men. They kept in a body for about ten days, paſſing on the eaſtern ſide of lake Memfrimagog, and then ſcattered. Some found their way to Number-four, after having ſuffered much by hunger and fatigue. Others periſhed in the woods, and their bones were found near Connecticut river, by the people, who after ſeveral years began plantations at the Upper Cohos. 1759.

After the taking of Quebec, the remainder of the ſeaſon was too ſhort to complete the reduction of Canada. The next ſummer General Amherſt made preparations to approach Montreal, by three different routes; intending, with equal prudence and humanity, to finiſh the conqueſt, without the effuſion of blood. For the ſervice of this year, 1760.

1760. eight hundred men were raiſed in New-Hampſhire, and put under the command of Col. John Goffe. They marched, as uſual, to Number-four; but inſtead of taking the old route, to Albany, they cut a road* through the woods, directly toward Crown Point. In this work they made ſuch diſpatch, as to join
July 31. that part of the army which Amherſt had left at Crown Point, twelve days before their
Aug. 11. embarkation. They proceeded down the lake, under the command of Col. Haviland.
Macclintock's MS journal. The enemy made ſome reſiſtance at Iſle au Noix, which ſtopped their progreſs for ſome days, and a few men were loſt on both ſides. But this poſt being deſerted, the forts of St. John and Chamblee became an eaſy conqueſt,
Sept. 8. and finally Montreal capitulated. This event finiſhed the campaign, and crowned Amherſt with deſerved laurels.

Whilſt the New-Hampſhire regiment was employed in cutting the new road; ſigns of hovering Indians were frequently diſcovered, though none were actually ſeen. But they took the family of Joſeph Willard, from Num-
Olcott's MS letter. ber-four, and carried them into Montreal, juſt before it was inveſted by the Britiſh army.

The conqueſt of Canada, gave peace to the frontiers of New-Hampſhire, after a turbulent ſcene of fifteen years; in which, with very little intermiſſion, they had been diſtreſſed by the enemy. Many captives return-

* This new road began at Wentworth's ferry, two miles above the fort at No. 4, and was cut 26 miles; at the end of which, they found a path, made the year before; in which they paſſed over the mountains, to Otter Creek; where they found a good road, which led to Crown Point. Their ſtores were brought in waggons, as far as the 26 miles extended; and then tranſported on horſes over the mountains. A drove of cattle for the ſupply of the army went from No. 4, by this route, to Crown Point.

ed to their homes; and friends who had long been separated, embraced each other in peace. The joy was heightened by this conſideration, that the country of Canada, being ſubdued, could no longer be a ſource of terror and diſtreſs. 1760.

The expenſe of this war, was paid by a paper currency. Though an act of Parliament was paſſed in 1751, prohibiting the Governors, from giving their aſſent to acts of Aſſembly, made for ſuch a purpoſe; yet by a proviſo, extraordinary emergencies were excepted. Governor Wentworth was ſlow to take advantage of this proviſo, and conſtrued the act in a more rigid ſenſe than others; but his friend Shirley helped him out of his difficulties. In 1755 paper bills were iſſued under the denomination of new tenor; of which, fifteen ſhillings were equal in value to one dollar. Of this currency, the ſoldiers were promiſed thirteen pounds ten ſhillings per month; but it depreciated ſo much in the courſe of the year, that in the muſter rolls, their pay was made up at fifteen pounds. In 1756 there was another emiſſion from the ſame plates, and their pay was eighteen pounds. In 1757, it was twenty-five pounds. In 1758, they had twenty-ſeven ſhillings ſterling. In the three ſucceeding years, they had thirty ſhillings ſterling, beſides a bounty at the time of their inliſtment, equal to one month's pay. At length ſterling money became the ſtandard of all contracts; and though the paper continued paſſing as a currency, its value was regulated by the price of ſilver, and the courſe of exchange. Atkinſon's MS letters.

It ought to be remembered as a ſignal fa-

1760. vor of divine Providence ; that during this war, the ſeaſons were fruitful, and the Colonies were able to ſupply their own troops with proviſions, and the Britiſh fleets and armies with refreſhments of every kind which they needed. No ſooner were the operations of
1761. the war in the northern Colonies cloſed, than two years of ſcarcity ſucceeded ; (1761 and 1762) in which the drought of ſummer was ſo ſevere, as to cut ſhort the crops, and render ſupplies from abroad abſolutely neceſſary. Had this calamity attended any of the preceding years of the war, the diſtreſs muſt have been extreme, both at home and in the camp. During the drought of 1761, a fire raged in the woods, in the towns of Barrington and Rocheſter, and paſſed over into the county of York, burning with irreſiſtible fury for ſeveral weeks, and was not extinguiſhed till a plentiful rain fell, in Auguſt. An immenſe quantity of the beſt timber was deſtroyed by this conflagration.

For the ſucceeding part of the war, a
1762. ſmaller body of men was required to garriſon the new conqueſts ; whilſt the Britiſh troops were employed in the Weſt India iſlands. The ſucceſs which attended their operations in that quarter, brought the war to a concluſion ; and by the treaty of peace, though many of the conquered places were reſtored, yet, the whole continent of North America remained to the Britiſh Crown, and the Colonies received a reimburſement of their expenſes.

The war being cloſed, a large and valuable tract of country, ſituated between New-England, New-York and Canada, was ſecured to

the Britiſh dominions; and it became the 1762.
intereſt of the Governors of both the royal Provinces of New-Hampſhire and New-York, to vie with each other, in granting this territory and receiving the emoluments ariſing from this lucrative branch of their reſpective offices. The ſeeds of a controverſy on this ſubject had been already ſown. During the ſhort peace which followed the preceding war, Governor Wentworth wrote to Governor Clinton, that he had it in command from the King, to grant the unimproved lands within his government; that the war had prevented that progreſs, which he had *hoped for* in this buſineſs; but that the peace had induced many people, to apply for grants in the weſtern parts of New-Hampſhire, which might fall in the neighbourhood of New-York. He communicated to him a paragraph of his commiſſion, diſcribing the bounds of New-Hampſhire, and requeſted of him a deſcription of the bounds of New-York. Before he received any anſwer to this letter; Wentworth, preſuming that New-Hampſhire ought to extend as far weſtward as Maſſachuſetts; that is to the diſtance of twenty miles eaſt from Hudſon's river, granted a townſhip, ſix miles ſquare, called Bennington; ſituate twenty-four miles eaſt of Hudſon's river, and 1750.
ſix miles north of the line of Maſſachuſetts. Clinton having laid Wentworth's letter before the Council of New-York; by their advice anſwered him, that the Province of New-York was bounded eaſterly by Connecticut river. This claim was founded on a grant of King Charles the ſecond; in which, 'all the land from the weſt ſide of Connecti-

1749. Nov. 17. Council minutes.

N. York printed narrative. Appendix, No. 3.

N. Hampſhire book of Charters.

1750. 'cut river, to the eaſt ſide of Delaware bay,' was conveyed to his brother James, Duke of York; by whoſe elevation to the throne, the ſame tract merged in the crown of England, and deſcended at the Revolution to King William and his ſucceſſors. The Province of New-York had formerly urged this claim againſt the Colony of Connecticut; but for prudential reaſons had conceded that the bounds of that Colony ſhould extend, as far as a line drawn twenty miles eaſt of Hudſon's river. The like extent was demanded by Maſſachuſetts; and, though New-York affected to call this demand 'an intruſion,' and ſtrenuouſly urged their right to extend eaſtward to Connecticut river; yet the original grant of Maſſachuſetts, being prior to that of the Duke of York, was a barrier which could not eaſily be broken. Theſe reaſons, however, it was ſaid, could be of no avail to the cauſe of New-Hampſhire, whoſe firſt limits, as deſcribed in Maſon's patent, did not reach to Connecticut river; and whoſe late extent, by the ſettlement of the lines in 1741, was no farther weſtward than 'till it meets 'with the King's other governments.' Though it was agreed, between the two Governors, to ſubmit the point in controverſy to the King; yet the Governor of New-Hampſhire, continued to make grants, on the weſtern ſide of Connecticut river, till 1754; when the renewal of hoſtilities not only put a ſtop to ap-
1754. plications; but prevented any determination of the controverſy by the Crown.

During the war, the continual paſſing of troops through thoſe lands, cauſed the value of them to be more generally known; and

when by the conqueſt of Canada, tranquillity was reſtored, they were eagerly ſought by adventurers and ſpeculators. Wentworth availed himſelf of this golden opportunity, and by advice of his Council, ordered a ſurvey to be made of Connecticut river for ſixty miles, and three lines of townſhips on each ſide, to be laid out. As applications increaſed, the ſurveys were extended. Townſhips of ſix miles ſquare were granted to various petitioners; and ſo rapidly did this work go on, that during the year 1761, not leſs than ſixty townſhips were granted on the weſt, and eighteen on the eaſt ſide of the river. Beſides the fees and preſents for theſe grants, which were undefined; a reſervation was made for the Governor, of five hundred acres in each townſhip; and of lots for public purpoſes. Theſe reſervations were clear of all fees and charges. The whole number of grants on the weſtern ſide of the river, amounted to one hundred and thirty-eight; and the extent was from Connecticut river to twenty miles eaſt of Hudſon, as far as that river extended northerly; and after that, weſtward to Lake Champlain. The rapid progreſs of theſe grants filled the coffers of the Governor. Thoſe who had obtained the grants were ſeeking purchaſers in all the neighbouring Colonies; whilſt the original inhabitants of New-Hampſhire, to whom theſe lands had formerly been promiſed, as a reward for their merit in defending the country, were overlooked in the diſtribution; unleſs they were diſpoſed to apply in the ſame manner, as perſons from abroad; or unleſs they happened to be in favor. When re-

1754.

1761.

July 1.

Atkinſon's MS.

1763.

1763. monſtrances were made to the Governor on this ſubject, his anſwer was, that the people of the old towns had been formerly complimented with grants in Chicheſter, Barnſted and Gilmantown, which they had neglected to improve ; and that the new grantees were better huſbandmen and would promote the cultivation of the Province.

Information of the late P. Gilman and M. Weare.

The paſſion for occupying new lands roſe to a great height. Theſe tracts were filled with emigrants from Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut. Population and cultivation began to increaſe with a rapidity hitherto unknown ; and from this time may be dated the flouriſhing ſtate of New-Hampſhire ; which before had been circumſcribed and ſtinted in its growth, by the continual danger of a ſavage enemy.

The grants on the weſtern ſide of Connecticut river, alarmed the government of New-York ; who, by their agent, made application to the Crown, repreſenting 'that it 'would be greatly to the advantage of *the* '*people* ſettled on thoſe lands, to be annexed 'to New-York ;' and ſubmitting the cauſe to the royal deciſion. In the mean time, a proclamation was iſſued by Lieutenant Governor Colden, reciting the grant of King Charles to the Duke of York ; aſſerting the juriſdiction of New-York as far eaſtward as Connecticut river ; and enjoining the Sheriff of the County of Albany, to return the names of all perſons, who, under color of the New-Hampſhire grants, held poſſeſſion of lands weſtward of that river. This was anſwered by a proclamation of Governor Wentworth, declaring the grant to the Duke of York to be

Ethan Allen's narrative 1774, page 1.

Dec. 28.

1764.

March 13.

obſolete, and that the weſtern bounds of New-Hampſhire were co-extenſive with thoſe of Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut; encouraging the grantees to maintain their poſſeſſions, and cultivate their lands; and commanding civil officers to execute the laws and puniſh diſturbers of the peace. 1764.

The application from New-York was referred to the Board of Trade; and upon their repreſentation, ſeconded by a report of a committe of the privy council, an order was paſſed, by the King in Council; declaring 'the weſtern banks of Connecticut river, 'from where it enters the Province of Maſſa-'chuſetts Bay, as far north as the forty-fifth 'degree of latitude, TO BE the boundary 'line, between the two Provinces of New-'Hampſhire and New-York.' July 20. Original MS.

This decree, like many other judicial determinations, while it cloſed one controverſy, opened another. The juriſdiction of the Governor of New-Hampſhire, and his power of granting land, were circumſcribed by the weſtern bank of Connecticut river; but the grantees of the ſoil, found themſelves involved in a diſpute with the government of New-York. From the words TO BE, in the royal declaration, two very oppoſite concluſions were drawn. The government ſuppoſed them to refer to the time paſt, and conſtrued them as a declaration that the river always *had been* the eaſtern limits of New-York; conſequently, that the grants made by the Governor of New-Hampſhire, were invalid, and that the lands might be granted again. The grantees underſtood the words in the future tenſe, as declaring Connecticut river

1764. from that time *to be* the line of jurisdiction only, between the two provinces; consequently that their grants, being derived from the Crown, through the medium of one of its Governors, were valid. To the jurisdiction, they would have quietly submitted, had no attempt been made to wrest from them their possessions. These opposite opinions, proved a source of litigation for ten succeeding years; but, as this controversy belongs to the history of New-York, it is dismissed, with one remark only. That though it was carried on with a degree of virulence, unfriendly to the progress of civilization and humanity, within the disputed territory; yet it called into action, a spirit of vigorous self defence, and hardy enterprise, which prepared the nerves of that people for encountering the dangers of a revolution, more extensive and beneficial.

CHAP. XXIII.

Beginning of the controverſy with Great-Britain. Stamp act. Reſignation of BENNING WENTWORTH.

FROM the earlieſt eſtabliſhment of the American Colonies, a jealouſy of their independence had exiſted among the people of Great-Britain. At firſt, this apprehenſion was perhaps no more than a conjecture founded on the viciſſitude of human affairs, or on their knowledge of thoſe emigrants who came away from England, diſguſted with the abuſive treatment which they had endured at home. But from whatever cauſe it aroſe, it was ſtrengthened by age; and the conduct of the Britiſh government toward America, was frequently influenced by it. In the reign of James the firſt, 'ſpeculative reaſoners raiſed objections to the planting of theſe Colonies; and foretold, that after draining the mother country of inhabitants, they would ſhake off her yoke and erect an independent government.' Some traces of this jealouſy appeared in every ſucceeding reign, not excepting that of William, whom America, as well as Britain, was proud to ſtyle 'our great deliverer.' But it became moſt evident, and began to produce its moſt pernicious effects, at a time when there was the leaſt reaſon for indulging the idea. Hume. See vol. 1.

During the adminiſtration of PITT, a liberal kind of policy had been adopted toward the Colonies; which being crowned with ſuc-

ceſs, had attached us* more firmly than ever, to the kingdom of Britain. We were proud of our connexion with a nation whoſe flag was triumphant in every quarter of the globe; and by whoſe aſſiſtance we had been delivered from the danger of our moſt formidable enemies, the French in Canada. The acceſ-
1760. ſion of George the third, at this critical and important era, was celebrated here, with as true a zeal and loyalty, as in any part of his dominions. We were fond of repeating every plaudit, which the ardent affection of the Britiſh nation beſtowed on a young monarch, riſing to the throne of his anceſtors, and profeſſing to 'glory in the name of Briton.' At ſuch a time, nothing could have been more eaſy, than by purſuing the ſyſtem of commercial regulation, already eſtabliſhed, and continuing the indulgencies which had been allowed, to have drawn the whole profit of our labor and trade, into the hands of Britiſh merchants and manufacturers. This would have prevented a ſpirit of enterpriſe in the Colonies, and kept us in as complete ſubjection and dependence, as the moſt ſanguine friend of the Britiſh nation could have wiſhed.

1763. We had, among ourſelves, a ſet of men, who, ambitious of perpetuating the rank of their families, were privately ſeeking the eſtabliſhment of an *American Nobility;* out of which, an intermediate branch of legiſlation, between the royal and democratic powers, ſhould be appointed. Plans were drawn, and preſented to the Britiſh miniſtry, for new

Bernard's ſelect letters.

Oliver's letters.

* Though it may be accounted a deviation from the proper ſtyle of hiſtory, for the author to ſpeak in the firſt perſon; yet he hopes to be excuſed in expreſſing the feelings of an American, whilſt he relates the hiſtory of his own time, and his own country.

modeling our governments, and reducing their powers; whilſt the authority of Parliament ſhould be rendered abſolute and imperial. The military Gentlemen of Britain, who had ſerved here in the war, and on whom, a profuſion of grateful attention had been beſtowed, carried home reports of our wealth; whilſt the ſons of our merchants and planters, who went to England for their education, exhibited ſpecimens of prodigality which confirmed the idea. During the war, there had been a great influx of money; and at the concluſion of it, Britiſh goods were largely imported; by which means, the caſh went back again with a rapid circulation. 1763.

In no age, perhaps, excepting that in which Rome loſt her liberty, was the ſpirit of venality and corruption ſo prevalent as at this time, in Britain. Exhauſted by a long war, and diſgraced by a peace which deprived her of her moſt valuable conqueſts, the national ſupplies were inadequate to the continual drain of the exchequer. A new miniſtry, raiſed on the ruin of that by which America was conquered and ſecured, looked to this country as a ſource of revenue. But, neglecting the 'principles of law and polity,' which had been early ſuggeſted to them by an officious correſpondent; and by which they might have gradually and ſilently extended their ſyſtem of corruption into America; they planned meaſures by which they ſuppoſed an addition to the revenues of Britain might be drawn from America; and the pretence was, 'to defray the expenſes of protecting, defending and ſecuring it.' The fallacy of this pretence was eaſily ſeen. If we had not done

History of the minority, 1765. page 286.

Bernard's ſelect letters.

1763. our part toward the protection and defence of our country, why were our expenditures reimburſed by Parliament? The truth is, that during the whole war, we had exerted ourſelves beyond our ability; relying on a promiſe from a Secretary of State, that it ſhould be recommended to Parliament to make us compenſation. It was recommended; the compenſation was honorably granted, and gratefully received. The idea of drawing that money from us again by taxes to repay the charges of our former defence, was unjuſt and inconſiſtent. If the new conqueſts needed protection or defence, thoſe who reaped the gain of their commerce, or enjoyed the benefit of grants and offices within thoſe territories, might be required to contribute their aid. Notwithſtanding this pretext, it was our opinion, that the grand object was to provide for dependents, and to extend the corrupt and venal principle of crown influence, through every part of the Britiſh dominions. However artfully it was thrown out, that the revenue to be drawn from us would eaſe the taxes of our brethren in Britain, or diminiſh the load of national debt; it was not eaſy for us to believe that the miniſtry had either of theſe objects ſincerely in contemplation. But if it had been ever ſo equitable that we ſhould contribute to diſcharge the debt of the nation, incurred by the preceding war; we ſuppoſed that the monopoly and control of our commerce, which Britain enjoyed, was a full equivalent for all the advantages, which we reaped from our political connexion with her.

The ſame gazette, which contained the definitive treaty of peace, announced the inten-

tions of the Britiſh miniſtry to quarter troops in America, and ſupport them at our expenſe. The money was to be raiſed by a duty on foreign ſugar and molaſſes, and by ſtamps on all papers legal and mercantile. Theſe intentions were at firſt thrown out in the form of reſolves, and afterward digeſted into acts of Parliament. The firſt of theſe acts, reſtricting the intercourſe which the American Colonies had enjoyed with the Weſt-India iſlands, cauſed a general uneaſineſs and ſuſpicion, but was viewed as a regulation of trade, and was ſubmitted to, though with reluctance. The effect of this act was to call forth a ſpirit of frugality, particularly in the introduction of a leſs expenſive mode of conducting funerals. Petitions and remonſtrances were ſent to England by ſome of the Colonies; but inſtead of any redreſs, a new act of Parliament was made for raiſing a revenue by a general ſtamp duty through all the American Colonies. The true friends of conſtitutional liberty now ſaw their deareſt intereſts in danger; from an aſſumption of power in the parent ſtate to give and grant the property of the coloniſts at their pleaſure. Even thoſe who had been ſeeking alterations in the colonial governments, and an eſtabliſhment of hereditary honors, plainly ſaw that the miniſtry were deſirous of plucking the fruit, before they had grafted the ſtock on which it muſt grow. To render the new act leſs odious to us, ſome of our fellow citizens were appointed to diſtribute the ſtamped paper, which was prepared in England and brought over in bales. The framers of the act boaſted that it was ſo contrived as to ex-

1763. N. Hampſhire Gaz. May 27.

1764.

1764.

Bernard's ſelect letters.

1765. ecute itſelf; becauſe no writing could be deemed legal without the ſtamp; and all controverſies which might ariſe, were to be determined in the Courts of Admiralty, by a ſingle judge, entirely dependent on the Crown.

This direct and violent attack on our deareſt privileges at firſt threw us into a ſilent gloom; and we were at a loſs how to proceed. To ſubmit, was to rivet the ſhackles of ſlavery on ourſelves and our poſterity. To revolt, was to rend aſunder the moſt endearing connexion, and hazard the reſentment of a
May 28. powerful nation. In this dilemma, the Houſe of Burgeſſes in Virginia, paſſed ſome ſpirited reſolves, aſſerting the rights of their country, and denying the claim of parliamentary taxation. The Aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts pro-
June 6. poſed a Congreſs of Deputies from each Colony, to conſult upon our common intereſt, as had frequently been practiſed in times of common danger. Several ſpeeches made in Parliament by oppoſers of the ſtamp-act were reprinted here; in one of which the
Col. Barre. Americans were ſtyled 'Sons of liberty,' and the ſpeaker ventured, from his perſonal knowledge of this country, to foretel our oppoſition to the act.

The ſpirit of the Virginian reſolves, like an electric ſpark, diffuſed itſelf inſtantly and univerſally; and the cautious propoſal of Maſſachuſetts was generally approved. The anxious mind, reſting on the bold aſſertion of conſtitutional rights, looked forward with pleaſure, to the time when an American Congreſs would unite in a ſucceſsful defence of them. The title 'Sons of liberty,' was ea-

gerly adopted by aſſociations in every Colony; 1765.
determining to carry into execution the prediction of him, who with ſuch noble energy, had eſpouſed the cauſe of our freedom. They began the oppoſition at Boſton; by publicly exhibiting effigies of the enemies of America, and obliging the ſtamp-officer to reſign his employment. The popular commotions in that town were afterward carried to an unjuſtifiable exceſs; but the ſpirit of oppoſition animated the body of the people in every Colony.

The perſon appointed diſtributor of ſtamps for New-Hampſhire, was George Meſſerve, ſon of the late Colonel, who died at Louiſbourg. He received his appointment in England, and ſoon after embarked for America, and arrived at Boſton. Before he landed, he Sept. 9.
was informed of the oppoſition which was making to the act; and that it would be acceptable to the people if he would reſign, which he readily did, and they welcomed him on ſhore. An exhibition of effigies at Sept. 12
Portſmouth had prepared the minds of the people there for his reception; and at his Sept. 18.
coming to town he made a ſecond reſignation, on the parade, before he went to his own houſe. This was accepted with the uſual ſalutation; and every one appeared to be ſat- Sept. 30.
isfied with the ſucceſs of the popular meaſures. Soon after, the ſtamped paper deſtined for New-Hampſhire arrived at Boſton in the ſame veſſel with that intended for Maſſachuſetts; but there being no perſon in either Province who had any concern with it, it was, by order of Governor Bernard, lodged in the caſtle.

1765. The ſtamp-act was to commence its operation on the firſt day of November; previouſly to which the appointed Congreſs was formed at New-York, conſiſting of delegates from the Aſſemblies of Maſſachuſetts, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the Delaware Counties, Maryland and South-Carolina. Having, like the Congreſs at Albany in 1754, formed themſelves in geographical order; they framed a bill of rights, for the Colonies; in which the ſole power of taxation was declared to be in their own aſſemblies. They prepared three diſtinct addreſſes to the King, Lords and Commons, ſtating their grievances, and aſking for redreſs. Theſe were ſubſcribed by the delegates of ſix colonies; the others who were preſent were not empowered to ſign; but reported their proceedings to their conſtituents, who approved them in Aſſembly, and forwarded their petitions. No delegates went from New-Hampſhire to this Congreſs; but the Aſſembly at their next meeting adopted the ſame meaſures, and ſent ſimilar petitions to England, which they committed to Barlow Trecothick, their agent, and John Wentworth, a young gentleman of Portſmouth, who was then in England, to be by them preſented to the King and Parliament. Theſe meaſures were the moſt reſpectful and prudent which could be deviſed; and were attended with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs from a change which had been made in the Britiſh miniſtry.

Aſſembly Records.

In the mean time, the newſpapers were filled with eſſays, in which every plea for and againſt the new duties was amply diſcuſſed.

Theſe vehicles of intelligence were doomed 1765.
to be loaded with a ſtamp ; and the printers felt themſelves intereſted in the oppoſition. On the laſt day of October, the New-Hampſhire Gazette appeared with a mourning border. A body of people from the country approached the town of Portſmouth, under an apprehenſion that the ſtamps would be diſtributed ; but being met, by a number from the town, and aſſured that no ſuch thing was intended, they quietly returned. The next day, the bells tolled, and a funeral proceſſion was made for the Goddeſs of Liberty ; but Nov. 1.
on depoſiting her in the grave, ſome ſigns of life were ſuppoſed to be diſcovered, and ſhe was carried off in triumph. By ſuch exhibitions, the ſpirit of the populace was kept up ; though the minds of the moſt thoughtful perſons were filled with anxiety.

It was doubtful, whether the Courts of Law could proceed without ſtamps ; and it was certain that none could be procured. Some licentious perſons began to think that debts could not be recovered, and that they might inſult their creditors with impunity. On the firſt appearance of this diſorderly ſpirit, aſſociations were formed at Portſmouth, Exeter and other places, to ſupport the Magiſtrates and preſerve the peace. The fifth of November had always been obſerved as a day of hilarity, in remembrance of the powder-plot. On the following night, a ſtrong guard was kept in Portſmouth. By theſe precautions, the tendency to riot was ſeaſonably checked, and no waſte of property or perſonal inſult was committed ; though ſome obnoxious characters began to tremble for their ſafety.

1765. When Meſſerve arrived, the people ſuppoſed that he had brought his commiſſion with him, and were content that it ſhould remain in his own hands, being rendered void by his reſignation. But, in fact, he did not receive it till after the time fixed for the operation of the act. Having ſhown his inſtructions to the Governor, and ſome other public officers, it was ſuſpected that he intended 'to commence the execution of his office.'

1766. Jan. 9. The ſons of liberty were alarmed; they aſſembled by beat of drum, and obliged him publicly to deliver up his commiſſion and inſtructions; which they mounted on the point of a ſword, and carried in triumph through the town. An oath was adminiſtered to him by Juſtice Claget, purporting that he would neither directly nor indirectly attempt to execute his office. The maſter of a ſhip, then ready to ſail for England, was alſo ſworn to deliver the packet containing the commiſſion and inſtructions, as it was directed. It was firſt addreſſed to the commiſſioners of the ſtamp-office in London; but afterward it was encloſed in a letter to the agents of the Province, refering the diſpoſal of it to their diſcretion. It happened to arrive, when great exertions were making, and a ſtrong probability exiſted, of the repeal of the ſtamp-act. The agents therefore concealed the packet, and had the good fortune to ſuppreſs the intelligence of all theſe proceedings; that no irritation might enſue to prevent the expected repeal.

During all theſe commotions, Governor Wentworth was ſilent. The miniſtry, either by accident or deſign, had neglected to ſend

authentic copies of the ſtamp-act, to ſome of the American Governors, and to him among others. There had been no tumults, which rendered his interpoſition neceſſary. He was in the decline of life, and his health was much impaired. His fortune was made, and it lay chiefly in his native country. One of the reaſons given, for the removal of his predeceſſor, was, that he had enjoyed his office ten years; Mr. Wentworth had been twenty-five years in the chair, and expected ſoon to be ſuperſeded. It was therefore his intereſt, not to put himſelf forward in ſupport of unpopular meaſures. His example was followed by moſt of the gentlemen in the Province, who held offices under the Crown. If any of them were ſecretly in favor of the act, they were reſtrained by fear, from contradicting openly the voice of the people. 1766.

The popular ſpirit was ſufficiently rouſed to join in any meaſures which might be neceſſary for the defence of liberty. All fear of the conſequence of proceeding in the public buſineſs without ſtamps, was gradually laid aſide. The courts of law, and cuſtom houſes were kept open. Newſpapers circulated, and lincenſes for marriage, without ſtamps, were publicly advertiſed. As it was uncertain, what might be the event of the petitions to the King and Parliament, it was thought beſt, to awaken the attention of the merchants and manufacturers of England, by an agreement to import no goods, until the ſtamp-act ſhould be repealed. To provide for the worſt, an aſſociation was formed by the 'ſons of liberty' in all the northern Colonies, to ſtand by each other, and unite their

1766. whole force, for the protection and relief of any who might be in danger, from the operation of this, or any other oppreſſive act. The letters which paſſed between them, on this occaſion, are replete with expreſſions of loyalty and affection to the King, his perſon, family and authority. Had there been any diſaffection to the royal government, or deſire to ſhake off our allegiance, where would the evidence of it be more likely to be found, than in letters which paſſed between bodies of men, who were avowedly endeavouring, to form an union, to reſiſt the uſurped authority of the Britiſh Lords and Commons?*

MS. letters of the ſons of liberty.

The idea which we entertained of our political connexion with the Britiſh empire, was, that the King was its ſupreme head; that every branch of it was a perfect State, competent to its own internal legiſlation, but ſubject to the control and negative of the ſovereign; that taxation and repreſentation were correlative, and therefore that no part of the empire could be taxed, but by its own Repreſentatives in Aſſembly. From a regard to the general intereſt, it was conceded, that the Parliament of Great-Britain, repreſenting the firſt and moſt powerful branch of the empire, might regulate the exterior commerce of the whole. In Britain, the American governments were conſidered as corporations, exiſting by the pleaſure of the King and Parliament, who had a right to alter or diſſolve

* From an intimate acquaintance with many perſons, of all ranks, who were inſtrumental of conducting the American revolution, through all its ſtages; and from a peruſal of many of their confidential letters; the author of theſe ſheets is fully ſatisfied, that the public profeſſions of loyalty, made by his countrymen, were ſincere; and that the moſt determined oppoſers of the claims of Parliament, were very far from deſiring a diſunion of the Britiſh empire, till they were driven to it by neceſſity.

them. Our laws were deemed bye-laws; and we were ſuppoſed to be, in all caſes of legiſlation and taxation, ſubject to the ſupreme, undefined power of the Britiſh Parliament. Between claims ſo widely different, there was no arbitrator to decide. Temporary expedients, if wiſely applied, might have preſerved peace; but the moſt delicate and judicious management was neceſſary, to prevent irritation. 1766.

When the commotions which had happened in America, were known in England, a circular letter was written to the ſeveral governors, by Secretary Conway, in which it was 'hoped that the reſiſtance to the authority of 'the mother country, had only found place 'among the lower and more ignorant of the 'people.' To the conſtitutional authority (as we underſtood it) of the King and Parliament, there had been no reſiſtance; but to the aſſumed authority, of our fellow ſubjects in Britain, over our property, the reſiſtance began, and was ſupported by the Repreſentatives of of the people, in their Aſſemblies. Thoſe who appeared under the name of 'the ſons of liberty' were chiefly tradeſmen of reputation, who were occaſionally aſſiſted by lawyers, clergymen, and other perſons of literary abilities. The writings of Sydney and Locke were produced, in evidence of the juſtice of our claims; and the arguments which had formerly been uſed in England, againſt the uſurpations of the houſe of Stuart, were adopted and repeated by us, in favor of our rights and liberties. Political inquiries were encouraged, and the eyes of the people were opened. Never was a ſentiment more gener- Oct. 24, 1765.

1766. ally adopted, on the fulleſt conviction, than that we could be conſtitutionally taxed by none but our own Repreſentatives; and that all aſſumption of this power, by any other body of men, was uſurpation which might be lawfully reſiſted.

The petitions of the American Aſſemblies, enforced by the agreement for non-importation, and aided by the exertions of the Britiſh merchants and manufacturers, induced the new miniſtry to recommend to Parliament, a repeal of the odious ſtamp-act. It
March 18. was accordingly repealed; not on the true principle of its repugnancy to the rights of America; but on that of political expediency. Even on this principle, the repeal could be obtained by no other means; than by paſſing, at the ſame time, a declaratory act, aſſerting the right and power, of the Britiſh Parliament, 'to *bind* America, in all caſes 'whatſoever,' and annulling all the reſolutions of our Aſſemblies, in which they had claimed the right of exemption from Parliamentary taxation.

The rejoicings which were occaſioned by the repeal of the ſtamp-act, in this country, were extravagantly diſproportioned to the object. We felt a tranſient relief from an intolerable burden; but the claim of ſovereign power, in our fellow ſubjects, to take our property, and abridge our liberty at their pleaſure, was eſtabliſhed by law. Our only hope was, that they would profit by their recent experience; and whilſt they enjoyed the pride of ſeeing their claim exiſt on paper, would ſuſpend the exerciſe of it in future.

With the repealing and declaratory acts, a

circular letter came from Secretary Conway; 1766.
in which, 'the lenity and tenderneſs, the 'moderation and forbearance of the Parlia- 'ment toward the Colonies' were celebrated in the language of panegyric, and we were called upon, to ſhow our 'reſpectful gratitude 'and cheerful obedience,' in return for ſuch a 'ſignal diſplay of indulgence and affection.' This letter encloſed a reſolution of Parliament, that thoſe perſons who had 'ſuffered 'any injury or damage,' in conſequence of their aſſiſting to 'execute the late act, ought 'to be compenſated, by the Colonies, in which 'ſuch injuries were ſuſtained.'

When Governor Wentworth laid this letter before the Aſſembly, he told them 'with June 25.
'pleaſure and ſatisfaction, that he had *no* re- 'quiſition of this kind to make.' Meſſerve, however, applied to the Aſſembly to grant him a compenſation for the injuries which he ſaid he had ſuffered. A committee, being appointed to inquire into the ground of his petition, reported, 'that he had ſuffered no 'real damage either in perſon or property; 'but that when any danger had been expect- 'ed, guards had been appointed to protect 'him.' Upon this report, his petition was diſmiſſed. He afterward went to England and obtained the office of Collector of the Cuſtoms.

At this ſeſſion the aſſembly prepared a reſpectful addreſs to the King and both Houſes of Parliament, on account of the repeal; which was ſent to England, at the ſame time that the ſtamped paper and parchment, which had been depoſited at the caſtle in Boſton, were returned.

1766. Complaints had been made in England againſt ſome of the American Governors, and other public officers, that exorbitant fees had been taken for the paſſing of patents for land; and a proclamation had been iſſued by the Crown and publiſhed in the Colonies, threatning ſuch perſons with a removal from office. Governor Wentworth was involved in this charge. He had alſo been accuſed of negligence in correſponding with the King's miniſters; of informality and want of accuracy in his grants of land; and of paſſing acts of Aſſembly reſpecting private property, without a ſuſpending clauſe 'till his Majeſty's pleaſure could be known.' In his office of Surveyor-General he had been charged with neglect of duty, and with indulging his deputies in felling and waſting the King's timber. By whom theſe complaints were made, and by what evidence they were ſupported, I have not been able to diſcover. Certain it is, that ſuch an impreſſion was made on the minds of the miniſtry, that a reſolution was taken to remove him; but the difficulties attending the ſtamp-act, cauſed a delay in the appointment of a ſucceſſor. When the ferment had ſubſided, the attention of the miniſtry was turned to this object. JOHN WENTWORTH, ſon of Mark Hunking Wentworth, and nephew of the Governor, was then in England. He had appeared at Court, as a joint agent with Mr. Trecothick in preſenting the petition of the Province againſt the ſtamp-act. He had become acquainted with ſeveral families of high rank and of his own name in Yorkſhire, and in particular with the Marquis of Rocking-

N. Hampſhire Gaz. Aug. 29, 1764.

ham, then at the head of the miniſtry. By his indulgence, Mr. Wentworth prevailed to ſoften the rigor of government againſt his uncle. Inſtead of being cenſured and removed from office, he was allowed opportunity to *reſign*, and the appearance of reſigning in favor of his nephew, who was deſtined by the Marquis, to be his ſucceſſor. Having received his commiſſions, as Governor of New-Hampſhire, and Surveyor of the King's woods in North-America, Mr. Wentworth ſailed from England, and arrived at Charleſtown, in South-Carolina. Thence he travelled through the continent, regiſtering his commiſſion of Surveyor in each of the Colonies, and was received at Portſmouth, with every mark of reſpect and affection. This appointment, made by a popular miniſtry, was peculiarly grateful to the people of New-Hampſhire, by whom Mr. Wentworth was well known and much eſteemed. 1766. August 11. 1767. March. June 13.

In addition to what had been ſaid, of the ſuperſeded Governor, it may be obſerved; that his natural abilities were neither brilliant nor contemptible. As a private gentleman he was obliging, and as a merchant honorable. He was generous and hoſpitable to his friends; but his paſſions were ſtrong and his reſentments laſting. He was ſubject to frequent and long continued viſits of the gout; a diſtemper rather unfriendly to the virtue of patience. In his deportment there was an appearance of haughtineſs, contracted by his reſidence in Spain, where he learned the manners of the people of rank; as well as the maxims of their government. He thought it beſt that the higheſt offices, ſhould be fill-

1767. ed with men of property; and though in ſome inſtances he deviated from this principle, yet, in others, he adhered to it ſo cloſely, as to diſregard more neceſſary qualifications.

In the former part of his adminiſtration, he was ſcrupulous in obeying his inſtructions, and inflexible in maintaining the prerogative. In conducting the operations of two ſucceſſive wars, his attention to the ſervice was very conſpicuous; and he frequently received letters of thanks, from the Generals, and other officers of the Britiſh troops employed in America.

He was cloſely attached to the intereſt of the church of England; and in his grants of townſhips, reſerved a right for the ſociety for propagating the goſpel, of which he was a member. A project was formed during his adminiſtration, to eſtabliſh a college in New-Hampſhire. When he was applied to for a charter, he declined giving it, unleſs the college were put under the direction of the Biſhop of London. But, when a grant was made by the Aſſembly, of three hundred pounds ſterling, to Harvard College, where he had received his education, to repair the deſtruction which it had ſuffered by fire; he conſented to the vote, and his name is inſcribed on an alcove of the library, as a benefactor, in conjunction with the name of the Province.

In his appointment of civil and military officers, he was frequently governed by motives of favor, or prejudice to particular perſons. When he came to the chair he found but twenty-five Juſtices of the Peace in the whole province; but in the firſt commiſſion

which he iſſued, he nominated as many in the town of Portſmouth only. In the latter part of his time, appointments of this kind became ſo numerous, and were ſo eaſily procured, that the office was rendered contemptible.* 1767.

Notwithſtanding ſome inſtances, in which

* The following paſquinade was publiſhed in the Portſmouth Mercury of October 7, 1765. It was ſuppoſed to have been written by the late Judge Parker, and was intitled

THE SILVER AGE.

In days of yore, and pious times,
Great care was had to puniſh crimes;
When conſervators *pacis* fought
To keep good order as they ought.
This office then, was no great booty,
Small were the fees, though great the duty.
But when a law, the old reſtriction
D—ck'd—and enlarg'd the juriſdiction;
His Worſhip had a right to hold,
In civil plea, a pound twice told.
The poſt was then thought worth poſſeſſing,
For 'twas attended with a bleſſing.
But ſtill, in after times it grew
Much better, as our tale will ſhew;
When, as it goes by common fame,
Two pounds and forty were the ſame. [By depreciation]
Then civil ſuits began to thrive,
And claims grown obſolete revive.
But when their Worſhips, manifold,
Like men divinely bleſs'd of old,
Were bid 'encreaſe and multiply,'
Obſequious roſe a num'rous fry,
Who, ever prompt, and nigh at hand,
Could ſcatter juſtice through the land.
Then, with important air and look,
The ſons of Littleton and Coke
Swarming appear'd, to mind the Squires;
What honors ſuch a poſt requires!
Theſe ſkilful clerks, always attending,
Help'd to diſpatch all matters pending;
Took care that judgment (as it ſhould)
Was render'd for the man that ſued;
Aided their honors to indite,
And ſign'd for thoſe who could not write.
Who but muſt think theſe happy times,
When men, adroit to puniſh crimes
Were cloſe at hand? and what is better,
Made every little tardy debtor
Fulfil his contract, and to boot,
Pay twice his debt in coſts of ſuit.
This was the happy ſilver age
When magiſtrates, profoundly ſage,
O'erſpread the land; and made, it ſeems,
'Juſtice run down the ſtreets in ſtreams.'

1767. a want of magnanimity was too conſpicuous, his adminiſtration was, in other reſpects, beneficial. Though he was highly cenſured, for granting the beſt lands of the Province to the people of Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut, with views of pecuniary reward; yet, the true intereſt of the country was certainly promoted; becauſe the grantees in general, were better huſbandmen than the people of New-Hampſhire.

In thoſe caſes, where diſſatisfaction appeared, it was chiefly owing to the nature of a royal government, in which the ariſtocratic feature was prominent, and the democratic too much depreſſed. The people of New-Hampſhire, though increaſing in numbers, had not the privilege of an equal repreſentation. The aim of moſt of thoſe gentlemen, who received their appointments from abroad, was rather to pleaſe their maſters, and ſecure the emoluments of their offices, than to extend benefits to the people, or condeſcend to their prejudices. They did not feel their dependence on them, as the ſource of power; nor their reſponſibility to them for its exerciſe. And, the people themſelves had not that juſt idea of their own weight and importance, which they acquired, when the controverſy with the Britiſh government called up their attention to their native rights.

CHAP. XXIV.

Adminiſtration of JOHN WENTWORTH *the ſecond. New attempt to force a revenue from America. Eſtabliſhment of Dartmouth College. Diviſion of the province into Counties. Death of* BENNING WENTWORTH. *Complaint of* PETER LIVIUS *againſt the Governor. Its iſſue. Progreſs of the controverſy with Great Britain. War. Diſſolution of Britiſh government in New-Hampſhire.*

THE genius, as well as the intereſt of the new Governor, led him to cultivate the good will of the people. He was grandſon, by his mother, to the the late agent John Rindge, who had been inſtrumental of eſtabliſhing the boundaries of the Province, and had advanced a large ſum for that purpoſe. His family, who had long complained of ingratitude and neglect, were now amply gratified, not only by the advancement of the new Governor, but by his recommending ſeveral other gentlemen, who were connected with it, to fill vacant ſeats at the Council board, and other offices of government. Several gentlemen of other reſpectable families, who had been treated with neglect, in the preceding adminiſtration, were alſo taken into favor; and a ſpirit of conciliation, among thoſe who had formerly been at variance, ſeemed to mark the beginning of this adminiſtration with fair omens of peace and ſucceſs. 1767.

Being in the prime of life, active and enterpriſing in his diſpoſition, polite and eaſy in his addreſs, and placed in the chair by the ſame miniſter who had procured the repeal of the ſtamp-act, to which event his own agency had contributed; Mr. Wentworth enjoyed a

1767. great ſhare of popular favor; which was much heightened when his conduct was viewed in contraſt with that of ſome other Governors in the neighbouring Provinces. Though bred a merchant, he had a taſte for agriculture, and entered vigorouſly into the ſpirit of cultivation. He frequently traverſed the foreſts; explored the ground for new roads; and began a plantation for himſelf in the townſhip of Wolfborough, on which he expended large ſums, and built an elegant houſe. His example was influential on other landholders, who alſo applied themſelves in earneſt to cultivate the wilderneſs.

The improvement of the country at this time occupied the minds of the people of New-Hampſhire, and took off their attention, in a great meaſure, from the view of thoſe political difficulties, which were occaſioned by a new act of Parliament, laying duties on paper, glaſs, painters' colors, and tea; and the eſtabliſhment of a board of Commiſſioners for collecting the American revenue. In the other Colonies, particularly in Maſſachuſetts, theſe duties had become a ſubject of altercation and ſerious alarm, being grounded on the right which the Parliament had aſſumed of 'binding America in all caſes whatſoever.' The only remedy was to be found in frugality, non-importation, and domeſtic manufactures. Theſe things were recommended, and, in ſome meaſure, complied with; and by means of theſe exertions, the revenue fell ſhort of the ſanguine expectations which its advocates had formed.

The popularity of the Governor of New-Hampſhire, and the influence of his numer-

ous friends and connexions, who were of the principal families and the richeſt merchants in the Province, prevented the adoption of a non-importation agreement in Portſmouth,* till the merchants in ſome of the other Colonies threatened to withhold any mercantile intercourſe with them. A plan of the ſame kind was then (1770) formed; and the union of ſo many Colonies, in this meaſure, cauſed the manufacturers in Great-Britain to experience diſtreſſes of the ſame nature with thoſe occaſioned by the ſtamp-act; and to exert their influence for a repeal of the new revenue law, which was in part effected. All the duties, excepting that on tea, were taken off. This relaxation, on the other ſide of the Atlantic, produced a relaxation here. The miniſtry in Great-Britain was frequently changed; and no uniform ſyſtem either of coercion or lenity was adopted. The oppoſition on this ſide languiſhed for want of unanimity. The more candid among us were willing to ſuppoſe that Britain would never lay any more duties; and there was ſome foundation for this ſuppoſition, as far as letters from miniſters of ſtate, and ſpeeches from provincial Governors might be depended on. The tax on *tea* was reſerved as a latent ſpark to rekindle the controverſy. 1767.

When the Governor, at his firſt meeting the Aſſembly, according to the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, recommended to them the

* 'We cannot depend on the countenance of many perſons of the 'firſt rank here; for royal commiſſions and family connexions influence 'the prinicpal gentlemen among us, at leaſt *to keep ſilence* in theſe evil 'times. The preſs here has never been openly attacked; but the printer 'remembers what he once ſuffered, at Boſton; and is eaſily kept in awe 'by more private rebukes.'

MS letter of the Sons of Liberty, in Portſmouth, to thoſe in Boſton.

1767. eſtabliſhment of an 'adequate, honorable and
Journal of Aſſembly. 'permanent ſalary,' they made ſome heſitation, on account of a report, that the ſalaries of the American Governors were to be paid out of the revenue. On being aſſured, that if ſuch a general eſtabliſhment ſhould take place, it would be ſo guarded as to prevent his receiving any reward from the aſſembly; they framed a vote, granting ſeven hundred pounds per annum during his adminiſtration
Sept 30. (dollars being then fixed at ſix ſhillings.) The fund appropriated to the ſalary was the exciſe, and in caſe of its inſufficiency, other proviſion was made. But the vote was limited with an exception, 'unleſs proviſion ſhall be made by Parliament.' When the queſtion was put, the Houſe was equally divided, and the Speaker, Peter Gilman, turned it againſt a permanent ſalary. It was therefore voted from year to year, and generally amounted to ſeven hundred pounds; beſides which an allowance was made for houſe-rent, from ſixty or ſeventy to one hundred pounds.

1769. Among the improvements, which during this adminiſtration, were made in the Province, one of the moſt conſpicuous, was the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary of literature. It was founded on a projection of Doctor Eleazer Wheelock, of Lebanon in Connecticut, for the removal of his Indian charity ſchool.

The firſt deſign of a ſchool of this kind was conceived by Mr. John Sergeant, Miſſionary to the Indians, at Stockbridge. A rambling
Hopkins's memoirs of the Houſatonnock Indians. 1736. mode of life, and a total want of letters, were ever unfriendly to the propagation of religious knowledge among the ſavages of America. That worthy miſſionary, intent on the

buſineſs of his profeſſion, and having obſerv- 1769.
ed the progreſs made by ſome of the younger Indians, who reſided in the Engliſh families, in reading and other improvements, conceived the benevolent idea of changing their whole habit of thinking and acting; and raiſing them from their native indolence to a ſtate of civilization; and at the ſame time, by introducing the Engliſh language, inſtead of their own barren dialect, to inſtil into their minds the principles of morality and religion.

To accompliſh this deſign, he procured benefactions from many well diſpoſed perſons both here and in England; and began a ſchool at Stockbridge; where the Indian youth were to be maintained, under the inſtruction of two maſters; one to overſee their ſtudies, and the other their field labor; whilſt a matron ſhould direct the female children in acquiring the arts of domeſtic life. Death (1749.)
put an end to the labors of this excellent man before his plan could be accompliſhed.

This deſign was revived by Wheelock. Having made ſome experiments, he was encouraged to proceed, by the tractable diſpoſi- (1754.)
tion of the Indian youths, and their proficiency in learning; but eſpecially, by the numerous benefactions, which he received from the friends of religion and humanity. Among which, a donation of Joſhua Moor, of Mans- Wheelock's printed narrative.
field, being the largeſt, in the infancy of the inſtitution, determined its name 'Moor's ſchool.'

To increaſe the means of improvement, charitable contributions were ſolicited in different parts of America, in England, and in Scotland. The money collected in England, was put into the hands of a Board of Truſtees,

1769. of whom the Earl of Dartmouth was at the head; and that collected in Scotland was committed to the ſociety for promoting chriſtian knowledge.

As an improvement on the original deſign, a number of Engliſh youths were educated with the Indians, both in literary and agricultural exerciſes; that their example might invite the Indians to the love of thoſe employments, and abate the prejudice which they have univerſally imbibed, that it is beneath the dignity of man to delve in the earth.

As the number of ſcholars increaſed, it became neceſſary to erect buildings, and extend cultivation. That part of the country in which the ſchool was firſt placed, being filled with inhabitants, a removal was contemplated. When this intention was publicly known, offers were made by private and public perſons in ſeveral of the neighbouring Colonies. The wary foreſight of the founder, aided by the advice of the Board of Truſtees, in England, led him to accept an invitation made by the Governor, and other gentlemen of New-Hampſhire. The townſhip of Hanover, on the eaſtern bank of Connecticut river, was finally determined on, as the moſt convenient ſituation for the ſchool; to which the Governor annexed a charter of incorporation for an univerſity, which took the name of Dartmouth College, from its benDec. 13. efactor, the Earl of Dartmouth. Of this univerſity, Doctor Wheelock was declared the founder and the Preſident; with power to nominate his ſucceſſor, in his laſt will. A Board of twelve Truſtees was conſtituted, with perpetual ſucceſſion; and the college

was endowed with a large landed eſtate, con- 1769.
ſiſting of one whole townſhip (Landaff) be-
ſides many other tracts of land in different
ſituations, amounting in the whole, to forty-
four thouſand acres. One valuable lot, of
five hundred acres, in the townſhip of Han-
over, given by the late Governor, Benning
Wentworth, was fixed upon as the ſite of the
ſchool and college. Beſides theſe donations
of land, the amount of three hundred and
forty pounds ſterling, was ſubſcribed, to be
paid in labor, proviſions, and materials for
building. With theſe advantages, and the
proſpect of a rapidly increaſing neighbor-
hood, in a fertile ſoil, on both ſides of Con-
necticut river, Doctor Wheelock removed his
family and ſchool into the wilderneſs. At 1770.
firſt, their accommodations were ſimilar to September.
thoſe of other ſettlers, on new lands. They
built huts of green logs, and lived in them,
till a proper edifice could be erected. The
number of ſcholars, at this time, was twenty-
four; of which eighteen were white, and the
reſt Indians.

Experience had taught Doctor Wheelock,
that his Indian youths, however well educat-
ed, were not to be depended on for inſtruc- Narrative No. 5. p. 20, 21.
tors of their countrymen. Of forty who had
been under his care, twenty had returned to
the vices of ſavage life; and ſome whom he
eſteemed 'ſubjects of divine grace, had not
'kept their garments unſpotted.' It was,
therefore, in his view, neceſſary that a greater
proportion of Engliſh youths ſhould be edu-
cated, to ſerve as miſſionaries, and overſee the
conduct of the Indian teachers. This was
given as the grand reaſon, for uniting the

1770. college with the Indian ſchool, and placing it under the ſame government; though the appropriations were diſtinctly preſerved. That the general concerns of the inſtitution might be better regulated, and the intruſion of vicious perſons within the purlieus of the college prevented; a diſtrict of three miles ſquare was put under its juriſdiction, and the Preſident was inveſted with the office of a magiſtrate. In 1771, a commencement was held, and the firſt degrees were conferred, on four ſtudents; one of whom was John Wheelock, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the founder.

Another improvement was made about the ſame time, by dividing the Province into counties. This had been long ſought, but could not be obtained. The inconvenience to which the people in the weſtern parts of the Province were ſubject, by reaſon of their diſtance from Portſmouth, where all the Courts were held, was extremely burdenſome; whilſt the convenience and emoluments of office were enjoyed by gentlemen in that vicinity. Some attempts to divide the Province had been made in the former adminiſtration; but without effect. The rapid increaſe of inhabitants for ſeveral years, made a diviſion ſo neceſſary, that it had become one of the principal ſubjects of debate, in the Aſſembly, from the time of the Governor's arrival. Several ſeſſions paſſed before all points could be adjuſted. The number of counties, and the lines of diviſion, were not eaſily agreed to, and a punctilio of prerogative about the erecting of Courts, made ſome difficulty; but it was finally determined, that the number of counties ſhould be five; and the

Courts were eſtabliſhed by an act of the whole legiſlature. It was paſſed with a clauſe, ſuſpending its operation, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known. The royal approbation being obtained, it took effect in 1771. The five counties were named by the Governor, after ſome of his friends in England; Rockingham, Strafford, Hillſborough, Cheſhire, and Grafton. The counties of Strafford and Grafton being much leſs populous, than the others, were to remain annexed to the county of Rockingham, till the Governor, by advice of Council, ſhould declare them competent to the exerciſe of their reſpective juriſdictions; which was done in 1773. 1771.

The year 1771 was alſo diſtinguiſhed by the abolition of paper currency. Silver and gold had been gradually introduced, and the paper had for ſeveral years been called in by taxes. The time limited for its exiſtence being now come, it totally diſappeared.

The death of the late Governor produced conſequences which materially affected his ſucceſſor. This family had been for many years of the firſt rank in the Province, and ſome of its members and connexions had held the principal offices. In ſuch a caſe, domeſtic union may be conſidered as neceſſary to preſerve public honor. The late Governor, though ſuperſeded, had been treated with every mark of reſpect; and having no children, it was expected his ſucceſſor would be his principal heir. A later will, made in favor of his young widow, and unknown till after his death, cauſed a ſudden diſappointment; which, if it had evaporated in private reflections only, might have paſſed among the Oct. 14. 1770. Æt. 75.

1771. infirmities incident to humanity, and with them might have been conſigned to oblivion; for it is beneath the dignity of hiſtory, to record the altercations of families, unleſs they are connected with public tranſactions, or events.

Antiquated claims upon the late Governor's eſtate were revived; and law-ſuits were commenced, which probably would not have been agitated, if the expected diſpoſition had been made. But the moſt alarming effect of this unhappy diſappointment was a queſtion, which the Governor moved in Council, 'whether the reſervations of five hundred 'acres, in ſeveral townſhips, made by the late 'Governor, Benning Wentworth, in the char-'ter grants, conveyed the title to him?' The Council determined this queſtion in the negative. The Governor then aſked, whether they would adviſe him to grant the ſaid tracts, to ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects, as ſhould ſettle and cultivate the ſame? To this they gave their aſſent. Seven of the Counſellors preſent on this occaſion were the Governor's relations. The eighth was Peter Livius, a gentleman of foreign extraction, who entered his diſſent. He had for ſeveral years ſerved as a Juſtice of the Common Pleas; but on the diviſion of the Province into counties, it was neceſſary to iſſue new commiſſions. Finding himſelf overlooked in the appointment of officers, and his private affairs calling him abroad, he ſailed for England, and there exhibited to the Lords of Trade, articles of complaint againſt the Governor and his Council.

March 19. MS depoſition of ſeven of the Council.

1772. July 9.

The firſt was, that the Governor and Coun-

cil, without any legal proceſs, or the intervention of a jury, had deprived the grantees under the Crown of their lands, on ſuggeſtion only that the conditions had not been fulfilled. 1772. Printed complaint,

The ſecond was, that the duty paid by foreign ſhipping, commonly called powder money, had not been accounted for, ſince the year 1741; and that the Council had refuſed to join with the Repreſentatives in an inquiry into this matter in the year 1768.

The third was, that the Governor had moved in Council, that the lands reſerved to the late Governor, in the charters of townſhips, ſhould be regranted to himſelf, through the medium of another perſon; and that the proteſt of the complainant, againſt the legality of this proceeding, was rejected.

The fourth was, that in conſequence of the oppoſition, which he was in duty bound thus to make, he had been injurioufly treated, and had received perſonal abuſe from the Governor.

The fifth was, that pending an action in the Common Pleas, brought by the Governor, though in other names, the Judges had ſeveral times been changed, till a queſtion on a point of law was determined in favor of the Governor.

The ſixth article ſtated, that the complainant had expected to prove ſeveral of the above facts, by referring to copies of the Council records in their Lordſhip's office; but was ſurpriſed to find that the Governor had diſobeyed his inſtructions in not ſending them.

The memorial concluded with a general charge of partiality ariſing from the family connexions of the Governor and Council.

1772. Copies of this memorial were ſent to the
MS copies. Governor and Council, who ſeparately prepared and returned diſtinct anſwers to the ſeveral articles of complaint.

To the firſt, it was ſaid, that the reſumption of grants forfeited by non-compliance with the conditions of ſettlement was ſupported by the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, given in 1752; that the invariable uſage in theſe caſes, had been to iſſue notice to delinquent proprietors, that they ſhould appear on a ſet day, and ſhew cauſe why their ſhares ſhould not be forfeited and regranted; that their allegations had been always treated with proper reſpect, and that no complaint of injuſtice had been made by any perſons whoſe grants had been thus reſumed.

To the ſecond it was anſwered, that the amount of powder-money, during the former adminiſtration, though long neglected had been lately recovered; and that ſince 1768, it had been regularly accounted for. The reaſon for the non-concurrence of the Council, with the vote for inquiring into this matter, was their reſpect to the royal prerogative, conceiving that the Houſe had no concern with the matter.

To the third article, it was ſaid, that the late Governor, conſcious of the inſufficiency of his title, had ſolicited his ſucceſſor for grants of theſe reſervations, which he had declined giving, unleſs a mandamus from the King could be procured; that this uncertainty had prevented his alienating them; that in conſequence, they were uncultivated and forfeited; that ſome of theſe lands had been regranted to other perſons; but that

the preſent Governor had no intereſt directly or indirectly in them. The Council denied, that the Governor had ever propoſed the granting of theſe lands to himſelf, through another perſon. They alſo denied that the diſſent of the memorialiſt had been refuſed. 1772.

The charge of perſonal abuſe, in the fourth article, was contradicted and retorted; but it was conceded, that the Governor had told him that his reaſons of diſſent were not founded in truth.

In anſwer to the fifth article, it was acknowledged, that the action was brought for the Governor's benefit; but that any unfair means were uſed to influence the Court was denied. This denial was corroborated by the depoſitions of the Judges themſelves, and of the Attorneys who were concerned in the ſuit. It was alſo proved that the judgment of the Court on the queſtion of law, was of no moment, being reverſed by the Superior Court, before which the cauſe was carried by appeal.

To the ſixth article, it was anſwered, that the Governor had directed the Secretary to furniſh him with copies of all the public tranſactions which had uſually been ſent to England, and that he had regularly tranſmitted them. But it appeared from the affidavit of the Secretary, that in June 1760, the late Governor had ordered him not to tranſcribe the minutes of the Council, when ſitting without the Aſſembly, unleſs ſpecially directed; and ſince that time it had been uſual to ſend the journal of the Council when ſitting as a Houſe of Aſſembly, and not as a Council of State.

1772. In fine the Council denied that they had ever acted in their public capacity, from any private or family intereſt; but aſſerted, that they had frequently given their judgment directly againſt it; and they concluded with very ſevere reflections on the complainant.

1773. With theſe anſwers, were tranſmitted a great number of depoſitions, from perſons of all ranks and profeſſions, teſtifying in favor of the Governor. Theſe being laid before the Lords of Trade, and the memorialiſt being heard in reply, the Board repreſented to the King, that the complaint againſt the Governor 'had been fully verified.' At the ſame time they thought it their duty to repreſent, 'that the reports which they had received, through different channels, of the ſituation of affairs within New-Hampſhire, did all concur in repreſenting the colony to have been, ſince Mr. Wentworth's appointment, in a ſtate of peace and proſperity; that its commerce had been extended, and the number of its inhabitants increaſed; and that every attempt made to excite the people to diſorder and diſobedience, had been, by the firm and temperate conduct of Mr. Wentworth, ſuppreſſed and reſtrained.'

MS copies.

May 10. Printed repreſentation.

When the cauſe was reheard before a committee of the Privy Council, it was obſerved by the Governor's advocate, that 'peace, proſperity and obedience, were not compatible with oppreſſion and injuſtice; and that however the Lords of Trade had in the beginning of their report condemned the Governor, they had, by the praiſe beſtowed upon him, in the end contradicted themſelves.'

July 29.

The Lords of the committee reported to

the King in Council, their judgment upon several articles of the complaint, in substance as follows. 1773. Aug. 26, printed report.

'That by the law of England, when lands were granted, upon condition, the breach of that condition must be found by a jury under a commission from the Court of Chancery; but that no such Court existed in New-Hampshire; and though the general rule was that the law of England extended to the Colonies, yet it must be understood to mean, such part of the law as is adapted to the state and constitution of them. That though the Governor had resumed and regranted lands, yet there was no evidence that such resumptions had been made without proof or public notoriety, that the conditions of former grants had not been complied with; and that no complaint had been made by any person supposed to be injured. That it had not been proved that resumptions had been made without notice to the proprietors; and it had not even been suggested, in cases where time had been allowed, that grants were resumed before the expiration of it. That the lands granted to the late Governor were granted in the name of the King, which was sufficient to convey a title; and that the Council was mistaken in thinking otherwise. That the Governor, by their advice, did resume and regrant several tracts of land which had been granted to the late Governor; but it had not been proved that the said lands were regranted in trust for himself; and in many instances such lands were regranted to different inhabitants for their own use and benefit; and that the late Governor's widow had not com-

1773. plained of any injury, by such resumption. That it appeared to have been the constant practice when any standing justice of a Court was interested in a suit, for a special Justice to be appointed; that other causes were depending at the same Inferior Court of Common Pleas, in which the standing Justices were interested, and there was no proof that special Justices were appointed on account of that particular cause in which the Governor was concerned; but that the commission was solicited in the common form; and that the defendant himself had testified that he had no objection to the commission or to the special Justices. With respect to the transmission of the records of Council, it was their opinion that it might be proper to revive that practice, as it had been conducted previously to the year 1760. But upon the whole, they submitted their judgment that there 'was no 'foundation for any censure upon the said 'Governor, for any of the charges contained 'in the complaint, and that the general con-'duct of his administration had tended great-'ly to the peace and prosperity of the said 'Province.'

October 8. This report was approved by the King in Council, and the complaint was dismissed. But the Governor was strictly enjoined, to transmit to the Lords of Trade, authentic copies of the journals of the Council, as a Council of State.

In this controversy Mr. Livius met with great support, from the interest of those who wished to displace the Governor; and they became so deeply engaged to him, as to procure for him an appointment to be the Chief

Juſtice of New-Hampſhire; but, upon more mature conſideration, this was thought too likely to produce diſcord and confuſion, and he obtained an appointment to a more lucrative office in the Province of Quebec. 1773.

When the final iſſue of the complaint was known in New-Hampſhire, a general ſatisfaction appeared among the people. At the next ſeſſion of the Aſſembly, the Houſe of Repreſentatives preſented to the Governor, an addreſs of congratulation, in the name of their conſtituents; and the citizens of Portſmouth gave a ſplendid ball, to which the Governor and both Houſes of Aſſembly were invited.

Hitherto the Governor had preſerved his popularity; and the people, in general, were ſatisfied with his adminiſtration. But, the obligation which lay on him to ſupport the claims of Britain, and aid the plans of her miniſtry, rendered his ſituation extremely delicate, and his popularity very precarious. The controverſy between Britain and the Colonies was drawing to a criſis. By the reſervation of the duty on tea, the Parliament inſiſted on it as their right, to tax their American brethren without their conſent; and the Americans, by withholding the importation of tea from Britain, made uſe of the only peaceable mode, in their power, effectually to oppoſe that claim. The revenue failed, and the warehouſes of the Eaſt India company were filled with an unſaleable commodity. The miniſtry and the company, thus ſeverely diſappointed, formed a plan, by which it was expected, that the one would enforce their claim, and the other ſecure their traffic.

1773. It was therefore enacted in Parliament, that the duty on the exportation of tea, from Britain, ſhould be taken off; and the Eaſt India company be enabled to ſend tea, on their own account, to America, ſubject to a duty only of three pence on the pound; by which means it would come to us, cheaper than before, or than it could be procured by illicit trade.

This meaſure cauſed a general alarm, through the Colonies; and united the intereſt of the merchants, with the views of the politicians, and the general ſenſe of liberty in the people. The trading towns ſet the example, which the others followed, of paſſing reſolves, not to permit tea, freighted by the Eaſt India company, to be landed or ſold. Theſe reſolutions were effectual. In ſome places the conſignees were obliged to relinquiſh their appointments, and the tea was returned unladen. In other places it was depoſited in ſtores, till it could be reſhipped. In Boſton, where the obſtinacy of Governor Hutchinſon drove the people to deſperation, it was deſtroyed. In New-Hampſhire, the prudence of Governor Wentworth, the vigilance of the magiſtrates and the firmneſs of the people were combined, and the hateful commodity was ſent away without any damage, and with but little tumult.

1774. June 25. The firſt cargo of tea, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven cheſts, was landed and ſtored at the cuſtom houſe, before any people could aſſemble to obſtruct it. A town meeting was called, and a propoſal was made to Mr. Parry, the conſignee, to reſhip it: To this he conſented. A guard was appointed by order of the town,

to watch the cuſtom houſe. The tea having been entered, it was neceſſary that the duty ſhould be paid; which was done openly, by the conſignee. The Governor convened the Council, and kept the magiſtrates and peace officers in readineſs to ſuppreſs any riotous appearances; but there was no need of their exertion. The tea was peaceably reſhipped and ſent to Halifax. 1774.

A ſecond cargo of thirty cheſts, which came conſigned to the ſame perſon, raiſed a ſmall ferment; and the windows of his lodgings were broken. He applied to the Governor for protection. The Governor, as before, ſummoned the Council and magiſtrates. The town, by their committee, prevailed on the conſignee to ſend the tea to Halifax, after having paid the duty, without which the ſhip could not legally be cleared at the cuſtom houſe. Sept. 8.

A general deteſtation of the meaſures, purſued by the Britiſh miniſtry, to rivet the chains on America, univerſally prevailed. The towns had ſeverally paſſed reſolves, aſſerting their right of exemption from all taxation by Parliament; condemning the importation and uſe of tea; and appointing committees of inſpection to carry their reſolutions into effect. The committees were vigilant; and being aided by the general ſentiment of the people, their exertions were ſucceſsful.

The controverſy had now advanced, to a ſtage, which excited the moſt ſerious apprehenſions. The Parliament had aſſumed *judicial*, as well as legiſlative powers; and directed their vengeance againſt Boſton. Its

1774. port was ſhut, and guarded by ſhips of war; its commerce was interdicted; its tradeſmen were without employment; and its poor without bread. A military Governor preſided there, and was drawing together all the Britiſh troops from every part of America; that he might be prepared, to make any ſanguinary experiment, which, in the miniſterial plan of coercion, might be judged neceſſary.

The ſympathy of their American brethren, raiſed contributions, for the relief of the numerous poor in Boſton, who were regarded as ſuffering in the common cauſe. But, to guard ourſelves effectually againſt the gathering ſtorm, a *union of the Colonies* was thought abſolutely neceſſary; and recourſe was had to the ſame meaſure which had formerly been tried in caſes of common danger, to hold a CONGRESS of delegates from each Colony.

The enemies of America have uniformly cenſured this meaſure as unprecedented, illegal and dangerous. That it was dangerous to the deſigns of the Britiſh adminiſtration, is admitted; but for that reaſon, it was to us the means of ſafety. Though it was not ſupported by any written law, yet it was evidently founded on ſelf preſervation, the firſt law of nature. But that it was unprecedented, is a very great miſtake. From the middle of the preceding century, the united Colonies of New-England, held annual, or ſemiannual meetings of Commiſſioners, on their common concerns, for above forty years. From the reign of Queen Anne, to that of George the ſecond, Governors, and delegates from Councils and Aſſemblies, occaſionally met in central places, to hold conferences relative to the

operations of war, or treaties with the Indian tribes.* Theſe meetings, uſually called by the name of CONGRESSES, though unknown, or diſregarded in Britain, were familiar to the people of America; and what could be a more natural or obvious ſtep, in a time of common danger, than to aſſemble by deputies, and confer on the means of ſafety? Precedents were numerous, that Governors and delegates had held theſe Aſſemblies, when their intereſts were united; what then ſhould hinder the people from following the example, when their intereſt required them to meet, without their Governors, who were endeavoring to maintain a ſeparate intereſt? 1774.

At the meeting of the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire, in the ſpring, the Houſe of Repreſentatives, conformably to the proceedings of the Aſſemblies in the other Colonies, appointed a committee of correſpondence. The Governor, who had in vain labored to prevent this meaſure, adjourned the Aſſembly, and after a few days, diſſolved it; hoping, by this means, to diſſolve the committee alſo. But they were not reſtricted by forms. On a ſummons iſſued by the committee, the Repreſentatives met again, in their own chamber. The Governor, attended by the Sheriff of the county, went among them. They roſe at his entrance. He declared their meeting illegal, and directed the Sheriff to make open proclamation, for all perſons to diſperſe, and keep May 10. July 8. July 6.

* 'May 6, 1754. A queſtion was moved in Council by the Governor, 'Whether it be not an infringement of the prerogative for the Houſe to 'join with the Council, in appointing delegates to the Congreſs at Albany? To which the Council anſwered; that the Houſe had no inherent right; but *it had been long the cuſtom*, at ſuch interviews, for the 'lower Houſe to nominate perſons, to be joined with ſuch as the Council 'ſhould appoint.' Council minutes.

1774. the King's Peace. When he had retired they resumed their seats; but, on further consideration, adjourned to another house; and after some conversation, wrote letters to *all the towns* in the Province; requesting them to send deputies, to hold a Convention at Exeter, who should choose delegates for a general Congress; and to pay their respective quotas of two hundred pounds, agreeably to the last proportion of the Provincial tax. They also recommended a day of fasting and prayer, to be observed by the several congregations, on account of the gloomy appearance of public affairs. The day was observed, with religious solemnity. The money
July 14. was collected. Eighty-five deputies were chosen and met at Exeter, where they delega-
July 21. ted Nathaniel Folsom and John Sullivan, Esquires, to attend the proposed Congress, at Philadelphia, in September, and delivered to them the money which had been collected, to defray their expenses. They also recommended the distressed state of Boston, to the commiseration of their brethren in New-Hampshire; and contributions were raised in many of the towns for their relief.

Parliamentary register. 1775. vol. 1, page 61, &c.

The Governor was now convinced, and in his letters to the ministry acknowledged, that 'the union of the Colonies would not be lost 'in New-Hampshire.' At the same time, he did the people the justice to say, that they had abstained from violence and outrage, and that the laws had their course. In his letters which were published by the ministry, there appears a spirit of candor toward the people, as well as a desire to recommend himself to the approbation of his superiors. Though

he saw another authority rising in the Province, founded on the broad basis of public opinion, and unrestrained representation, an authority over which he had no influence or control; yet he endeavored to preserve the shadow of the royal government, and keep up its forms as long as possible. 1774.

But it was impracticable for a person, circumstanced as he was, to withstand the spirit of the people.* That his wish was to prevent a rupture, there is sufficient evidence, for candor to believe. But it cannot be thought strange, that in his endeavors to comply with the expectations of the ministry, and their instruments, which he conceived to be his duty, he should fall into such a snare, as to lose the affections of the people; for it was impossible to please both.

The troops in Boston wanted barracks, to secure them against the approaching winter. The artificers of the town, were, by the popular voice, restrained from working in the service of Government. General Gage was therefore obliged to send for assistance to the neighboring Governors, and, among others, to Governor Wentworth. Instead of convening his Council for their advice, or issuing a proclamation, inviting help and promising reward, he privately employed a person to hire carpenters to go to Boston. It was impossible that the secret should be kept, and when it was known, his best friends reprobated his

* The following paragraph, of one of his private letters, written at that time, to a confidential friend, deserves to be remembered.

'Our hemisphere threatens a hurricane. I have in vain strove, almost 'to death, to prevent it. If I can, at last, bring out of it, safety to my 'country, and honor to our sovereign, my labors will be joyful. My 'heart is devoted to it, and you know its sincerity.'

MS letter to T. W. W.

1774. conduct. The Committee of Portſmouth, at the head of which, was his uncle, Hunking Wentworth, bore their public teſtimony againſt it; and cenſured him, not by name, but by implication, as 'an enemy to the community,' and the men whom he had employed, as 'unworthy of ſociety.' The agent in this ſecret buſineſs, was brought on his knees before the committee of Rocheſter, and made an humble acknowedgment. This prudent ſtep of the committee, diſarmed the popular rage, and prevented any injury to his perſon or property.

Sept. 4. The tranſactions of the Congreſs which met at Philadelphia, were univerſally approved. The ſpirit of them was firm, but pacific. The mode of oppoſition, to the arbitrary claims of Britain, which they recommended, was non-importation and non-conſumption. But in the cloſe of their addreſs, to their conſtituents, they adviſed them to 'extend their views to the moſt unhappy e-'vents, and to be in all reſpects prepared for 'every contingency.' Not long after this advice was made public, a contingency preſented itſelf, in which the people of New-Hampſhire gave an example of that ſpirit, by which the whole country was animated.

An order having been paſſed by the King in Council, prohibiting the exportation of gunpowder and other military ſtores, to Amer-

Dec. 13. ica; a copy of it was brought by expreſs to Portſmouth, at a time, when a ſhip of war was daily expected from Boſton, with a party of troops, to take poſſeſſion of fort William and Mary, at the entrance of the harbour. The committee of the town, with all poſſible

ſecreſy and diſpatch, collected a company, 1774.
from that and ſome of the neighboring towns; and before the Governor had any ſuſpicion of their intentions, they proceeded to Newcaſtle, and aſſaulted the fort. The Captain and his five men (which was the whole garriſon) were confined, and one hundred barrels of powder were carried off. The next day, another company went and removed fifteen of the lighteſt cannon, and all the ſmall arms, with ſome other warlike ſtores; which they diſtributed in the ſeveral towns, under the care of the committees. Major John Sullivan, and Captain John Langdon, diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as leaders in this affair. It was tranſacted with great expedition and alacrity, and in the moſt fortunate point of time; juſt before the arrival of the Scarborough frigate, and Canſeau ſloop, with ſeveral companies of ſoldiers; who took poſſeſſion of the fort, and of the heavy cannon which had not been removed.

The Governor put the five men, who belonged to the fort, on board the ſhips of war, to be reſerved as evidences in caſe of a proſecution of the offenders for high treaſon; and having conſulted Council in this and the neighbouring Province, thought it his duty; that he might prevent any charge of miſpriſion of treaſon againſt himſelf; to diſmiſs from public truſt, all thoſe perſons concerned in the aſſault of the fort, who had held any office under the government, and concerning whoſe proceedings he had authentic teſtimony. He alſo iſſued a proclamation, commanding all officers, civil and military, to aſſiſt in detecting and ſecuring the offenders;

1774. and exhorting all the people to beware of being seduced, by the false arts and menaces of abandoned men.

It was thought proper by the Governor and some of his friends, to form an association, for the support of the royal government, and for their mutual defence. They boasted, that an hundred men could be procured, from the ships, at a minute's warning.

1775. This transaction exposed the weakness of the cause, which they meant to support; for what could an hundred men do against the whole country?

A second convention of deputies met at

Jan. 25. Exeter, to consult on the state of affairs, and appoint delegates for the next general Congress, to be holden on the tenth of May, at Philadelphia. Major Sullivan and Captain Langdon were chosen; and the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, was ordered to defray their expenses. This convention issued an address to the people, warning them of their danger; exhorting them to union, peace and harmony, frugality, industry, manufactures, and learning the military art; that they might be able, if necessary, to defend the country against invasion. They appointed a committee of correspondence, with power to call another convention, when they should judge it necessary.

The winter passed away in gloomy apprehension and anxiety. Men of consideration saw that a wide breach was made, and that it could not easily be closed. Some happy genius was wanted to plan, and wisdom on both sides to adopt, a constitution for Britain and America. Royal charters and instructions,

acts of Parliaments and precedents of all kinds, were at best but a rotten foundation. The store of temporary expedients was exhausted. It was doubtful whether force could generate submission, or whether resistance could enervate force. Neither country was sensible of the strength and resources of the other. The press teemed with arguments on both sides; but no plan of conciliation was adopted. A fair and candid representation of our grievances could not be received, in the Court of Britain. Each side was tenacious of its claims, and there appeared no disposition to relax. When two independent nations are in such a state, they generally find among their friends and allies, some mediating power, to bring them to terms and prevent a rupture. Between Britain and America, no mediator could be found. The controversy could be decided only by the supreme arbiter of nations. 1775.

The first ships, which arrived in the spring, brought us news that the petition of Congress was graciously received by the King; and that the merchants of England were petitioning in our favor. This revived our hopes. Soon after we were informed, that the Parliament had *voted* the existence of a rebellion in Massachusetts; and that the other Colonies were aiding and assisting: That the Lords and Commons had addressed the King, to enforce the revenue-acts, and had assured him, that they would stand by him, with their lives and fortunes: That the King had demanded an augmentation of his forces, by sea and land: That the commerce of the New-England Colonies was to be restrained,

1775. and their fiſhery prohibited; and that an additional number of troops, horſe and foot, were ordered to America. Theſe tidings threw us into diſtreſs. A war ſeemed inevitable; and a gloom overſpread the whole country. The people of Boſton began to remove from the town; and thoſe, who could not remove, were ſolicitous to ſecure their moſt valuable effects. In the midſt of this diſtreſs, a frigate arrived expreſs from Eng-
April 14. land; with an account of a propoſal made and voted in Parliament, which was called Lord North's conciliatory propoſition. It was this; 'that when any Colony by their 'Governor, Council and Aſſembly, ſhall en-'gage to make proviſion, for the ſupport of 'civil government, and adminiſtration of juſ-'tice, in ſuch colony; it will be proper, if 'ſuch propoſal be approved by the King and 'Parliament, for ſo long time as ſuch pro-'viſion ſhall be made, to forbear to levy any 'duties or taxes in ſuch Colony, except for 'the regulation of Commerce; the neat pro-'ceeds of which ſhall be carried to the ac-'count of ſuch Colony reſpectively.' The troops, however, were to remain; and the refractory Colonies were to be puniſhed. This propoſition was ſaid to be founded on ſome advice, received from New-York, that if conceſſions were made by Parliament, they would cenſure the proceedings of Congreſs, and break the union of the Colonies. The propoſal was evidently a bait thrown out to divide us, and tempt us to deſert the Colony of Maſſachuſetts; who could not comply, without ſubmitting to the alteration, lately made by Parliament in their charter.

What might have been the effect of this 1775.
propoſition in the other Colonies, if it had been allowed time to operate, is uncertain. The conduct of General Gage, on receiving this news, was in the higheſt degree abſurd and inconſiſtent. He had been blamed in Parliament for his inactivity. He had *friends* in Boſton, who conſtantly aſſured him, that the people in the country would not dare to face his troops. He had been informed of a magazine of proviſions and ſtores, at Concord, laid up by the Provincial Congreſs, in caſe of extremity. With the news of the conciliatory propoſition, he received orders to make an experiment of its ſucceſs. On the April 18.
eighteenth day of April, he iſſued writs for calling a general Aſſembly, to comply with the propoſed terms of reconciliation; and in the night following, he privately diſpatched a body of his troops, to deſtroy the magazine at Concord; and to ſeize ſome of the leaders of oppoſition, who had retired from the town. He was induced to believe, that if between the iſſuing of his writs, and the meeting of the Aſſembly, he could ſtrike a bold ſtroke; it would ſo intimidate the people, and unfit them for defence, that they would eaſily comply with the terms propoſed. But he totally miſtook the genius of the people of New-England. Nor were his deſigns carried on ſo ſecretly as he imagined. The popular leaders were ſeaſonably appriſed of their danger, and kept themſelves out of his reach. The country was alarmed, by expreſſes ſent off in the night, before he had taken the precaution to ſhut the avenues of the town. A company of armed citizens

1775. kept guard at Lexington, on the road to Concord. The Britiſh troops, when they appeared in the morning, having ordered them to diſperſe, fired upon them, as they were retiring, and killed ſeveral on the ſpot. They
April 19. then proceeded to Concord, and deſtroyed ſuch of the ſtores as had not been removed; and having accompliſhed their object, as far as they were able, they retreated through ſhowers of muſquetry from the people, who ſuddenly collected from all quarters to oppoſe them.

On the alarm of this act of hoſtility, the people of New-Hampſhire, and of the other Colonies, took arms, and flew to the aſſiſtance of their brethren.

Notwithſtanding this ill-adviſed and unſucceſsful attempt of Gage, Governor Wentworth had very ſanguine hopes of the good effect of the 'conciliatory propoſition;' and determined, as he ſaid, 'to plant the root of 'peace in New-Hampſhire.' He ſummoned a new Aſſembly; and in his ſpeech, entreated them, as 'the only legal and conſtitution-
May 4. 'al Repreſentatives of the people, to direct 'their counſels to ſuch meaſures, as might 'tend to ſecure their peace and ſafety; and 'effectually lead to a reſtoration of the pub-'lic tranquillity; and an affectionate recon-'ciliation with the mother country.' The Houſe deſired a ſhort receſs, that they might adviſe with their conſtituents on ſo momentous a queſtion; and the Governor reluctantly conſented to adjourn them to the twelfth day of June.

In the mean time, the officers and men of the Scarborough began to diſmantle the fort;

they alſo ſtopped two veſſels laden with pro- 1775.
viſions, which were coming into the harbor; and notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing remonſtrances of the inhabitants, and ſolicitation of the Governor, refuſed to releaſe them. Upon this, a body of armed men, went to a battery on Jerry's point, at Great-Iſland, and May 26.
took away eight cannon of twenty-four and thirty-two pound ſhot, which they brought up to Portſmouth; and whilſt they were engaged in this work, the Canſeau ſloop convoyed the two proviſion veſſels to Boſton, for the ſupply of the fleet and army.

A new convention was at this time ſitting at Exeter; in which the Province was more fully and equally repreſented, than it ever had been before. They paſſed votes of thanks to thoſe who had taken the powder and guns from the fort, in the preceding winter, and to thoſe who had removed the cannon from the battery. They alſo inſtructed the Repreſentatives, how to act at the next meeting of the Aſſembly; and the voice of the convention was regarded by the Houſe, as the voice of their conſtituents.

At the adjournment, the Governor again June 12.
recommended 'the conciliatory propoſition.' The firſt ſtep which the Houſe took, was in obedience to the voice of the convention, to expel three members whom the Governor had called by the King's writ, from three new townſhips; whilſt many other towns, of much older ſtanding, and more populous, were neglected, and never enjoyed the privilege of repreſentation, but in the newly eſtabliſhed conventions. The Governor then adjourned the Aſſembly to the eleventh of July. One

1775. of the expelled members, having ſpoken his mind freely without doors, was aſſaulted by the populace, and took ſhelter in the Governor's houſe. The people demanded him, and brought a gun, mounted on a carriage, to the door; upon which the offender was delivered up, and conveyed to Exeter. The Governor, conceiving himſelf inſulted, retired to the fort; and his houſe became a ſcene of pillage.

July 11. When the Aſſembly met again, he ſent a meſſage from the fort, and adjourned them to the twenty-eighth of September; but they never met any more. He continued under the protection of the Scarborough, and another ſhip of war, till all the remaining can-

Aug. 24. non of the fort were taken on board, and then ſailed for Boſton. In September he came to the Iſles of Shoals, and there iſſued a proclamation, adjourning the Aſſembly to the next April. This was the laſt act of his adminiſtration, and the laſt time that he ſet his foot in the Province. Thus an end was put to the Britiſh Government in New-Hampſhire, when it had ſubſiſted ninety-five years.

From this view of the adminiſtration of Governor Wentworth, it is eaſy to conclude, that his intentions were pacific; and whilſt the temper of the times allowed him to act agreeably to his own principles, his government was acceptable and beneficial; but when matters had come to the worſt, his faults were as few, and his conduct as temperate, as could be expected from a ſervant of the Crown. If a compariſon be drawn, between him and moſt of the other Governors on this continent, at the beginning of the revolution, he

must appear to advantage. Instead of widening the breach, he endeavored to close it; and when his efforts failed, he retired from a situation, where he could no longer exercise the office of a Governor; leaving his estate and many of his friends; and preserving only his commission, as surveyor of the King's woods; the limits of which were much contracted by the succeeding revolution. 1775.

CHAP. XXV.

War with Britain. Change of Government. Temporary Conſtitution. INDEPENDENCE. Military exertions. Stark's expedition. Employment of troops during the war.

1775. WHEN the controverſy with Britain ſhewed ſymptoms of hoſtility, and the deſign of the Miniſtry and Parliament to provoke us to arms became apparent; the people of New-Hampſhire began ſeriouſly to meditate the defence of their country. It was uncertain in what manner the ſcene would open; for this and other reaſons no regular plan of operations could be formed. By the old militia law, every male inhabitant, from ſixteen years old to ſixty, was obliged to be provided with a muſket and bayonet, knapſack, cartridge-box, one pound of powder, twenty bullets and twelve flints. Every town was obliged to keep in readineſs one barrel of powder, two hundred pounds of lead and three hundred flints, for every ſixty men; beſide a quantity of arms and ammunition for the ſupply of ſuch as were not able to provide themſelves with the neceſſary articles. Even thoſe perſons who were exempted from appearing at the common military trainings, were obliged to keep the ſame arms and ammunition. In a time of peace, theſe requiſitions were neglected, and the people in general were not completely furniſhed, nor the towns ſupplied according to law. The care which the Governor had taken to appoint officers of militia and review the regiments, for ſome years before, had awaken-

ed their attention to the duties of the parade; 1775.
which were performed with renewed ardor, after the provincial convention had recommended the learning of military exercises and manœuvres. Voluntary associations were formed for this purpose, and the most experienced persons were chosen to command on these occasions. To prevent false rumors and confusion, the committees of inspection in each town were also committees of correspondence, by whom all intelligence concerning the motions of the British, were to be communicated; and proper persons were retained to carry expresses when there should be occasion.

In this state of anxiety and expectation; when an early spring had invited the husbandman to the labor of the field; General April 19.
Gage thought it proper to open the drama of war. The alarm was immediately communicated from town to town through the whole country, and volunteers flocked from all parts; till a body of ten thousand men assembled in the neighborhood of Boston, completely invested it on the land side, and cut off all communication with the country.

On the first alarm, about twelve hundred men marched from the nearest parts of New-Hampshire, to join their brethren, who had assembled in arms about Boston. Of these, some returned; others formed themselves into two regiments, under the authority of the Massachusetts Convention. As soon as May 17.
the Provincial Congress of New-Hampshire met, they voted to raise two thousand men, to be formed into three regiments; those

1775. which were already there to be accounted as two, and another to be inlifted immediately. Thefe men engaged to ferve till the laft day of December, unlefs fooner difcharged. The command of thefe regiments was given to the Colonels John Stark, James Reed and Enoch Poor. The two former were prefent in the memorable battle on the heights of
June 17. Charleftown, being poſted on the left wing, behind a fence; from which they ſorely galled the Britiſh as they advanced to the attack, and cut them down by whole ranks at once. In their retreat they loſt ſeveral men, and among others, the brave Major Andrew McClary, who was killed by a cannon ſhot after he had paſſed the iſthmus of Charleſtown. On the alarm occaſioned by this battle, the third regiment collected and marched
June 20. to the camp; and with the other New-Hampſhire troops was poſted on the left wing of the army at Winter-Hill, under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Sullivan, who with the other general officers, received his appointment from Congreſs.

It had been a common ſentiment among the Britiſh troops, that the Americans would not dare to fight with them. This battle effectually convinced them of their miſtake. They found that fighting with us was a ſerious thing; and the loſs which they ſuſtained in this battle, evidently had an influence on their ſubſequent operations.

Whilſt the Scarborough frigate remained in the harbour of Paſcataqua, frequent bickerings happened between her crew and the inhabitants. Captain Berkeley ſeized all inward bound veſſels, and ſent them to Boſton.

He alſo prevented the boats belonging to the river from going out to catch fiſh. This conduct was conformable to the orders which he had received to execute the reſtraining act. In return, his boats were not permitted to fetch proviſions from the town; and one of them was fired upon in the night, by ſome of the guards ſtationed on the ſhore. A compromiſe, at length, was made between him and the committee of the town; open boats were permitted to paſs, to catch fiſh for the inhabitants; and his boats were allowed to take freſh proviſions for the uſe of the ſhip. This agreement ſubſiſted but a ſhort time, and finally all intercourſe was cut off. 1775.

After the departure of the ſhip, the people went in volunteer parties, under the direction of Major Ezekiel Worthen, whom the convention appointed Engineer, and built forts on the points of two iſlands, which form a narrow channel, about a mile below the town of Portſmouth. One of theſe was called Fort Waſhington, and the other Fort Sullivan. The cannon which had been ſaved from the old fort and battery were mounted here, and the town was thought to be ſecure from being ſurpriſed by ſhips of war. Auguſt 24.

The tenth of September was the laſt day of exportation fixed by the general Congreſs. Moſt of the veſſels which ſailed out of the harbor were ſeized by the Britiſh cruiſers and carried into Boſton. One was retaken by a privateer of Beverly and carried into Cape-Anne. Sept. 10.

In the following month, ſeveral Britiſh armed veſſels were ſent to burn the town of Falmouth; which was in part effected, by October 18.

1775. throwing carcaſes and ſending a party on ſhore, under cover of their guns. It was ſuſpected that they had the ſame deſign againſt Portſmouth. General Waſhington diſpatched Brigadier General Sullivan from the camp at Cambridge, with orders to take the command of the militia and defend the harbour of Paſcataqua. On this occaſion, the works erected on the iſlands were ſtrengthened; a boom, conſtructed with maſts and chains, was thrown acroſs the Narrows, which was ſeveral times broken by the rapidity of the current, until it was found impoſſible to ſecure the paſſage by ſuch means; an old ſhip was ſcuttled and ſunk in the northern channel of the river; a company of rifle-men, from the camp, was poſted on Great-Iſland; and fire-rafts were conſtructed to burn the enemy's ſhipping. Theſe preparations ſerved to keep up the ſpirits of the people; but many families, not thinking themſelves ſafe in Portſmouth, removed into the country, and there remained till the next ſpring.

A ſpirit of violent reſentment was excited againſt all who were ſuſpected of a diſpoſition inimical to the American cauſe. Some perſons were taken up on ſuſpicion and impriſoned; ſome fled to Nova-Scotia, or to England, or joined the Britiſh army in Boſton. Others were reſtricted to certain limits and their motions continually watched. The paſſions of jealouſy, hatred and revenge were freely indulged, and the tongue of ſlander was under no reſtraint. Wiſe and good men ſecretly lamented theſe exceſſes; but no effectual remedy could be adminiſtered. All commiſſions under the former authority be-

ing annulled, the courts of juſtice were ſhut, and the ſword of magiſtracy was ſheathed. The Provincial Convention directed the general affairs of the war; and town committees had a diſcretionary, but undefined power to preſerve domeſtic peace. Habits of decency, family government, and the good examples of influential perſons, contributed more to maintain order than any other authority. The value of theſe ſecret bonds of ſociety was now more than ever conſpicuous. 1775.

In the convention which met at Exeter, in May, and continued ſitting with but little interruption till November, one hundred and two towns were repreſented, by one hundred and thirty-three members. Their firſt care was to eſtabliſh poſt offices; to appoint a committee of ſupplies for the army, and a committee of ſafety. To this laſt committee, the general inſtruction was ſimilar to that, given by the Romans, to their Dictators, 'to take 'under conſideration, all matters in which 'the welfare of the Province, in the ſecurity 'of their rights, is concerned; and to take 'the utmoſt care, that the public ſuſtain no 'damage.'* Particular inſtructions were given to them, from time to time, as occaſion required. They were conſidered as the ſupreme executive; and during the receſs of the convention, their orders and recommendations had the ſame effect as the acts and reſolves of that whole body. MS Records of convention.

By an order of the convention, the former Secretary, Theodore Atkinſon, Eſq. delivered up the province records, to a committee which was ſent to receive them, and Ebenezer

* 'Ne quid detrimenti reſpublica capiat.'

1775. Thompſon, Eſq. was appointed in his place. The records of deeds, and of the probate office, for the county of Rockingham, were alſo removed to Exeter, as a place of greater ſafety than Portſmouth. The former Treaſurer, George Jaffrey, Eſq. was applied to for the public money in his hands, which, to the amount of one thouſand five hundred and ſixteen pounds four ſhillings and eight pence, he delivered; and Nicholas Gilman, Eſq. was appointed Treaſurer in his room.

During this year, three emiſſions of paper bills were made. The firſt, of ten thouſand and fifty pounds; the ſecond, of ten thouſand pounds; and the third, of twenty thouſand pounds. For the amount of thoſe ſums, the Treaſurer gave his obligation in ſmall notes, which paſſed for a time, as current money, equal in value to ſilver and gold. But as emiſſions were multiplied, as the redemption of the bills was put off to diſtant periods, and the bills themſelves were counterfeited, it was impoſſible for them long to hold their value.

Beſide the three regiments which made part of the American army at Cambridge, a company of artillery was raiſed to do duty at the forts. A company of rangers was poſted on Connecticut river; and two companies more were appointed, to be ready to march wherever the committee of ſafety ſhould direct. The whole militia was divided into twelve regiments; the field officers were appointed by the convention, and the inferior officers were choſen by the companies. Out of the militia were inliſted four regiments of minute-men, ſo called, becauſe they were to be ready at a minute's warning. They were

conſtantly trained to military duty, and when called to ſervice were allowed the ſame pay as the regiments in the continental army. In the ſucceeding winter, when the Connecticut forces had withdrawn from the camp, becauſe their time of ſervice was expired, ſixteen companies of the New-Hampſhire militia, of ſixty-one men each, ſupplied their place, till the Britiſh troops evacuated Boſton. 1775.

The convention having been appointed for ſix months only; before the expiration of that time, applied to the general Congreſs for their advice, reſpecting ſome mode of government for the future. In anſwer to which, the Congreſs recommended to them, 'to call 'a full and free repreſentation of the people; 'that theſe Repreſentatives, if they ſhould 'think it neceſſary, might eſtabliſh ſuch a 'form of government, as, in their judgment, 'would beſt conduce to the happineſs of the 'people, and moſt effectually tend to ſecure 'peace and good order in the Province, du-'ring the continuance of the diſpute between 'Great-Britain and the Colonies.' On receiving this advice, the convention took into their conſideration the mode in which a full and free repreſentation ſhould be called; and finally agreed, that each elector ſhould poſſeſs a real eſtate of twenty pounds value, and every candidate for election, one of three hundred pounds; that every town, conſiſting of one hundred families, ſhould ſend one Repreſentative, and one more for every hundred families; and that thoſe towns which contained a leſs number than one hundred ſhould be claſſed. They had before ordered a ſurvey to be made of the number of peo-

Nov. 3.

Nov. 14.

1775. ple in the several counties; and having obtained it, they determined, that the number of Representatives to the next convention, should bear the following proportion to the number of people, viz.

Rockingham,	37850 people	38	Representatives.
Strafford,	12713	13	
Hillsborough,	16447	17	
Cheshire,	11089	15	
Grafton,	4101	6	
In all - -	82200	89	

These Representatives were to be empowered, by their constituents, to assume government as recommended by the general Congress, and to continue for one whole year from the time of such assumption. The wages of the members were to be paid by the several towns, and their travelling expenses out of the public treasury. Having formed this plan, and sent copies of it to the several towns, the convention dissolved.

Nov. 16.

This convention was composed chiefly of men who knew nothing of the theory of government, and had never before been concerned in public business. In the short term of six months, they acquired so much knowledge by experience, as to be convinced, that it was improper for a legislative Assembly to consist of one House only. As soon as the new convention came together, they drew up a

Dec. 21. temporary form of government; and, agreeably to the trust reposed in them by their

1776. constituents, having assumed the name and authority of a House of Representatives, they

Jan. 5. proceeded to choose twelve persons, to be a distinct branch of the legislature, by the name

of a Council. Of theſe, five were choſen 1776.
from the county of Rockingham, two from Strafford, two from Hillſborough, two from Cheſhire and one from Grafton. Theſe were empowered to elect their own Preſident, and any ſeven of them were to be a quorum. It was ordained, that no act or reſolve ſhould be valid, unleſs paſſed by both branches of the legiſlature; that all money bills ſhould originate in the Houſe of Repreſentatives; that neither Houſe ſhould adjourn for more than two days, without the conſent of the other; that a Secretary, and all other public officers of the Colony, and of each County, for the current year, all general and field officers of militia, and all officers of the marching regiments, ſhould be appointed by the two Houſes; all ſubordinate militia officers by their reſpective companies; that the preſent Aſſembly ſhould ſubſiſt one year, and if the diſpute with Britain ſhould continue longer, and the general Congreſs ſhould give no directions to the contrary, that precepts ſhould be iſſued annually to the ſeveral towns on or before the firſt day of November for the choice of Counſellors and Repreſentatives, to be returned by the third Wedneſday in December.

In this haſty production, there were ſome material defects. One was the want of an executive branch of government. To remedy this, the two Houſes, during their ſeſſion, performed executive as well as legiſlative duty; and at every adjournment appointed a committee of ſafety, to ſit in the receſs, with the ſame powers, as had been given in the preceding year, by the convention. The

1776. number of this committee varied from ſix to ſixteen. The Preſident of the Council was alſo Preſident of this executive Committee. The perſon choſen to fill this chair was an old, tried, faithful ſervant of the public, the honorable MESHECH WEARE, Eſq. who was alſo appointed Chief Juſtice of the Superior Court. So great was the confidence of the people in this gentleman, that they ſcrupled not to inveſt him, at the ſame time, with the higheſt offices, legiſlative, executive, and judicial; in which he was continued by annual elections during the whole war.

This conſtitution was prefaced with ſeveral reaſons for adopting government, viz. That the Britiſh Parliament had, by many grievous and oppreſſive acts, deprived us of our native rights; to enforce obedience to which acts, the miniſtry of that kingdom had ſent a powerful fleet and army into this country, and had wantonly and cruelly abuſed their power, in deſtroying our lives and property; that the ſudden and abrupt departure of our late Governor, had left us deſtitute of legiſlation; that no judicial Courts were open to puniſh offenders; and that the continental Congreſs had recommended the adoption of a form of government. Upon theſe grounds the convention made a declaration in theſe words, 'We conceive ourſelves *reduced to the* '*neceſſity* of eſtabliſhing a form of govern-'ment, to continue during the preſent un-'happy and unnatural conteſt with Great-'Britain; proteſting and declaring, that we 'never ſought to throw off our dependence 'on Great-Britain; but felt ourſelves happy 'under her protection, whilſt we could enjoy

'our conſtitutional rights and privileges ; 1776.
'and that we ſhall rejoice, if ſuch a reconcili-
'ation between us and our parent State can
'be effected, as ſhall be approved by the con-
'tinental Congreſs, in whoſe prudence and
'wiſdom we confide.'

Such was the language, and ſuch were the ſentiments of the people at that time ; and had the Britiſh government, on the removal of their troops from Boſton, treated with us, in anſwer to our laſt petition, upon the principle of reconciliation ; and reſtored us to the ſtate in which we were before the ſtamp-act was made, they might even then, have preſerved their connexion with us. But in the courſe of a few months, we not only found our petitions diſregarded, and our profeſſions of attachment to the parent ſtate treated as hypocritical ; but their hoſtile intentions became ſo apparent, and our ſituation was ſo ſingular, that there could be no hope of ſafety for us, without diſſolving our connexion with them, and aſſuming that equal rank among the powers of the earth for which nature had deſtined us, and to which the voice of reaſon and Providence loudly called us. Britain had engaged foreign mercenaries to aſſiſt in ſubjugating us ; juſtice required that we ſhould in our turn court foreign aid ; but this could not be had, whilſt we acknowledged ourſelves ſubjects of that Crown againſt whoſe power we were ſtruggling. The exertions which we had made, and the blood which we had ſhed, were deemed too great a price for reconciliation to a power which ſtill claimed the right 'to bind us in all caſes whatſoever,' and

1776. which held out to us unconditional ſubmiſſion, as the only terms on which we were to expect even a pardon. Subjection to a Prince who had thrown us out of his protection; who had ruined our commerce, deſtroyed our cities and ſpilled our blood; and who would not govern us at all, without the interpoſition of a legiſlative body, in whoſe election we had no voice, was an idea too abſurd to be any longer entertained. Theſe ſentiments, being ſet in their juſt light by various publications and addreſſes, had ſuch force as to produce a total change of the public opinion. Independence became the general voice of the ſame people, who but a few months before had petitioned for reconciliation. When this could not be had, but on terms diſgraceful to the cauſe which we had undertaken to ſupport, we were driven to that as our only refuge. The minds of the people at large in moſt of the Colonies being thus influenced, they called upon their delegates in Congreſs to execute the act which ſhould ſever us from foreign dominion, and put us into a ſituation to govern ourſelves.*

July 4. It ought ever to be remembered, that the declaration of our independence was made, at a point of time, when no royal Governor had even the ſhadow of authority in any of the Colonies; and when no Britiſh troops had any footing on this Continent. The country was then abſolutely our own. A formidable force was indeed collected on our coaſts, ready to invade us; and in the face of that

* On the 11th of June 1776, a committee was choſen by the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire 'to make a draught of a declaration of the General Aſſembly for the INDEPENDENCE of the united Colonies on Great-Britain, to be tranſmitted to our delegates in Congreſs.'

armament this decisive step was taken. The declaration was received with joy by the American army then assembled at New-York. Within fourteen days it was published by beat of drum in all the shire towns of New-Hampshire. It relieved us from a state of embarrassment. We then knew the ground on which we stood, and from that time every thing assumed a new appearance. The jargon of distinctions between the limits of authority on the one side, and of liberty on the other, was done away. The single question was, whether we should be conquered Provinces, or free and independent States. On this question, every person was able to form his own judgment; and it was of such magnitude that no man could be at a loss to stake his life on its decision. 1776. July 18. Observations on the American Revolution p. 57, 58.

It is amusing to recollect, at this distance of time, that one effect of independence was an aversion to every thing which bore the name and marks of royalty. Sign boards on which were painted the King's arms, or the crown and sceptre, or the portraits of any branches of the royal family, were pulled down or defaced. Pictures and escutcheons of the same kind in private houses were inverted or concealed. The names of streets, which had been called after a King or Queen were altered; and the half-pence, which bore the name of George III, were either refused in payment, or degraded to farthings. These last have not yet recovered their value.

The new Assembly began their administration by establishing Judicial Courts, on the same system as before, excepting that the Court of Appeals, which had long been es-

1776. teemed a grievance, was aboliſhed, and all appeals to Great-Britain were prohibited. Appeals from the Probate Courts, which formerly came before the Governor and Council, were transferred to the Superior Court, whoſe judgment was now made final. Encouragement was given to fit out armed veſſels, and a maritime Court was eſtabliſhed for the trial of captures by ſea. A law was made to puniſh the counterfeiting of the paper bills of this and of the United States; and to make them 'a tender for any money due 'by deed or ſimple contract.' After the declaration of independence the ſtyle of *Colony* was changed for that of the STATE of New-Hampſhire. A new law was enacted to regulate the militia. More paper bills were iſſued to pay the expenſes of the war; and proviſion was made for drawing in ſome of the bills by taxes. Doubts had ariſen, whether the former laws were in force; a ſpecial act was therefore paſſed, reviving and re-enacting all the laws which were in force, at the time when government was aſſumed; as far as they were not repugnant to the new form, or to the independence of the Colonies, or not actually repealed.

May 21. The Congreſs having ordered ſeveral frigates to be built in different places; one of thirty-two guns, called the Raleigh, was launched at Portſmouth, in ſixty days from the time when her keel was laid; but for want of guns and ammunition, and other neceſſaries, it was a long time before ſhe was completely fitted for the ſea. The making of ſalt-petre was encouraged by a bounty; and many trials were made before it was pro-

duced in purity. Powder mills were erected, and the manufacture of gunpowder was, after ſome time, eſtabliſhed; but notwithſtanding all our exertions, foreign ſupplies were neceſſary. 1776.

For the ſervice of this year, two thouſand men were raiſed, and formed into three regiments, under the ſame commanders as in the former year. Three hundred men were poſted at the forts in the harbour. Supplies of fire arms and ammunition were ſent to the weſtern parts of the State, and a regiment was raiſed in that quarter, under the command of Col. Timothy Bedel, to be ready to march into Canada.

The three regiments went with the army under General Waſhington to New-York; and thence were ordered up the Hudſon, and down the lakes into Canada, under the immediate command of Brigadier General Sullivan. The deſign of this movement was to ſuccour and reinforce the army, which had been ſent, the preceding year, againſt Quebec; and which was now retreating before a ſuperior force, which had arrived from Britain, as early as the navigation of the St. Lawrence was opened. Our troops having met the retreating army at the mouth of the Sorel, threw up ſome ſlight works round their camp. General Thomas, who had commanded the army after the fall of the brave Montgomery, was dead of the ſmall-pox. Arnold was engaged in ſtripping the merchants of Montreal, under pretence of ſupplying the army; and Thompſon was taken priſoner in an unſucceſsful attack on the village of Trois Rivieres. The command therefore devolved

1776. on Sullivan, who, finding a retreat neceſſary, conducted it with great prudence. At this time the American troops, and in particular the regiments of New-Hampſhire, had taken the infection of the ſmall-pox. The ſick were placed in batteaux, and with the cannon and ſtores, were drawn againſt the rapid current, by the ſtrength of men on ſhore, or wading in the water; and ſo cloſe was the purſuit of the enemy, that they could ſcarcely find time to kindle a fire to dreſs their victuals, or dry their clothes. At St. John's the purſuit
July 1. ceaſed. On the arrival of our army at Ticonderoga, Sullivan, being ſuperſeded by Gates, returned to the main army at New-York. The troops in the northern department being reinforced by the militia of the neighbouring States, fortified the poſts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Beſide the ſmall-pox, a dyſentery and putrid fever raged among them; and it was computed, that of the New-Hampſhire regiments, nearly one third part died this year by ſickneſs.

When the danger of an attack on Ticonderoga for that ſeaſon, was paſſed, the remaining part of the New-Hampſhire troops marched by the way of the Miniſinks, into Pennſylvania. There they joined General Waſhington, and aſſiſted in the glorious capture of the Heſſians at Trenton, and afterward in the battle of Princeton. Though
December & January. worn down with fatigue, and almoſt deſtitute of clothing, in that inclement ſeaſon, they continued in the ſervice ſix weeks after the term of their enliſtment had expired; and two regiments of the militia which were ſent to reinforce the army remained till March.

By this time the inconvenience of maintaining an army, by annual enliſtments and temporary levies, was ſeverely felt, and generally reprobated; and the Congreſs, though ſlow in liſtening to remonſtrances on this head, were obliged to adopt a more permanent eſtabliſhment. In recruiting the army for the next year, the officers were appointed by Congreſs, during the war; and the men enliſted either for that term, or for three years. The commanders of the three regiments of New-Hampſhire, were the Colonels Joſeph Cilley, Nathan Hale and Alexander Scammell. Theſe regiments were ſupplied with new French arms; and their rendezvous was at Ticonderoga, under the immediate command of Brigadier General Poor. There they remained, till the approach of the Britiſh army under General Burgoyne, rendered it eligible to abandon that poſt. On the retreat, Col. Hale's battalion was ordered to cover the rear of the invalids, by which means, he was ſeven miles behind the main body. The next morning he was attacked, by an advanced party of the enemy at Hubberton. In this engagement, Major Titcomb of the New-Hampſhire troops, was wounded. Col. Hale, Captains Robertſon, Carr, and Norris, Adjutant Elliot, and two other officers were taken priſoners, with about one hundred men. The main body of the army continued their retreat to Saratoga. On their way they had a ſkirmiſh with the enemy at Fort Anne, in which Captain Weare, ſon of the Preſident, was mortally wounded, and died at Albany.

1777. July 6.

Immediately after the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the committee of the New-Hamp-

1777. ſhire Grants (who had now formed themſelves into a new State) wrote in the moſt preſſing terms, to the committee of Safety at Exeter for aſſiſtance, and ſaid that if none ſhould be afforded to them, they ſhould be obliged to retreat to the New-England States for ſafety. When the news of this affair reached New-Hampſhire, the Aſſembly had finiſhed their ſpring ſeſſion and returned home. A ſummons from the committee brought them together again; and in a ſhort ſeſſion of three days only, they took the moſt effectual and deciſive ſteps for the defence of the conntry. They formed the whole militia of the State into two Brigades; of the firſt they gave the command to William Whipple, and of the ſecond to John Stark. They ordered one fourth part of Stark's brigade, and one fourth of three regiments of the other brigade, to march immediately under his command, 'to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy on 'our weſtern frontiers.' They ordered the militia officers, to take away arms, from all perſons, who ſcrupled or refuſed to aſſiſt, in defending the country; and appointed a day of faſting and prayer, which was obſerved with great ſolemnity.

July 8. Original letters in files.

July 17.

The appointment of Stark, to this command, with the ſame pay as a Brigadier in the Continental ſervice, was peculiarly grateful to the people as well as to himſelf. In an arrangement of general officers, in the preceding year, Poor a junior officer had been promoted, whilſt he was neglected. He had written on this ſubject to Congreſs, and his letters were laid on the table. He therefore quitted the army, and retired to his own

ſtate. He was now by the unanimous voice of his fellow citizens, inveſted with a ſeparate command, and received orders to 'repair 'to Charleſtown on Connecticut river; there 'to conſult with a committee of New-Hamp- 'ſhire Grants, reſpecting his future operations 'and the ſupply of his men with proviſions; 'to take the command of the militia and 'march into the Grants to act in conjunction 'with the troops of that new State, or any other 'of the States, or of the United States, or 'ſeparately, as it ſhould appear expedient to 'him; for the protection of the people and 'the annoyance of the enemy.' 1777. MS. copy of orders on file.

In a few days he proceeded to Charleſtown, and as faſt as his men arrived, he ſent them forward, to join the forces of the new State, under Col. Warner, who had taken poſt at Mancheſter, twenty miles northward of Bennington. Here Stark joined him, and met with General Lincoln, who had been ſent from Stillwater, by General Schuyler, commander of the northern department, to conduct the militia to the weſt ſide of Hudſon's river. Stark informed him of his orders, and of the danger which the inhabitants of the Grants apprehended from the enemy, and from their diſaffected neighbours; that he had conſulted with the committee, and that it was the determination of the people, in caſe he ſhould join the Continental army and leave them expoſed, that they would retire to the eaſt of Connecticut river; in which caſe New-Hampſhire would be a frontier. He therefore determined to remain on the flank of the enemy, and to watch their motions. For this purpoſe he collected his force at Ben- Aug. 17. MS. copy of Lincoln's letter. Aug. 9.

1777. nington, and left Warner with his regiment at Mancheſter. A report of this determination was tranſmitted to Congreſs, and the orders on which it was founded were by them diſapproved; but the propriety of it was evinced by the ſubſequent facts.

Aug. 9. General Burgoyne, with the main body of the Britiſh army lay at fort Edward. Thence he detached Lieut. Col. Baum, with about fifteen hundred of his German troops, and one hundred Indians, to pervade the grants as far as Connecticut river, with a view to collect horſes to mount the dragoons, and cattle, both for labour and proviſions; and to return to the army with his booty. He was to perſuade the people among whom he ſhould paſs, that his detachment was the advanced guard of the Britiſh army, which was marching to Boſton. He was accompanied by Colonel Skeene, who was well acquainted with the country; and he was ordered to ſecure his camp by night.

MS. copy of Burgoyne's orders.

Aug. 13. Stark's MS letters in the files. The Indians who preceded this detachment, being diſcovered about twelve miles from Bennington; Stark detached Col. Greg, with two hundred men, to ſtop their march. In the evening of the ſame day, he was informed that a body of regular troops, with a train of artillery, was in full march for Bennington. The next morning he marched with his whole brigade, and ſome of the militia of the Grants, to ſupport Greg, who found himſelf unable to withſtand the ſuperior number of the enemy. Having proceeded about four miles, he met Greg retreating, and the main body of the enemy purſuing, within half a mile of his rear. When they diſcovered Stark's col-

Aug. 14.

umn, they halted in an advantageous poſition; 1777.
and he drew up his men on an eminence in open view; but could not bring them to an engagement. He then marched back, about a mile, and encamped; leaving a few men to ſkirmiſh with them; who killed thirty of the enemy and two of the indian chiefs. The next day was rainy. Stark kept his poſition, and ſent out parties to harraſs the enemy. Many of the Aug. 15.
Indians took this opportunity to deſert; becauſe, as they ſaid, 'the woods were full of yankees.'

On the following morning Stark was joined by a company of militia from the Grants, Aug. 16.
and another from the county of Berkſhire in Maſſachuſetts. His whole force amounted to about ſixteen hundred. He ſent Colonel Nichols, with two hundred and fifty men, to the rear of the enemy's left wing; and Colonel Hendrick, with three hundred, to the rear of their right. He placed three hundred to oppoſe their front and draw their attention. Then ſending Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred to attack the right wing, and one hundred more to reinforce Nichols in the rear of their left, the attack began in that quarter preciſely at three of the clock in the afternoon. It was immediately ſeconded by the other detachments; and at the ſame time Stark himſelf advanced with the main body. The engagement laſted two hours; at the end of which he forced their breaſtworks, took two pieces of braſs cannon and a number of priſoners; the reſt retreated.

Juſt at this inſtant, he received intelligence that another body of the enemy was within two miles of him. This was a reinforce-

1777. ment for which Baum had ſent, when he firſt knew the force which he was to oppoſe. It was commanded by Col. Breyman. Happily Warner's regiment from Mancheſter came up with them and ſtopped them. Stark rallied his men and renewed the action; it was warm and deſperate; he uſed, with ſucceſs, the cannon which he had taken; and at ſunſet obliged the enemy to retreat. He purſued them till night, and then halted, to prevent his own men from killing each other, in the dark. He took from the enemy two other pieces of cannon, with all their baggage, waggons and horſes. Two hundred and twenty-ſix men were found dead on the field. Their commander, Baum, was taken and died of his wounds; beſide whom, thirty-three officers, and above ſeven hundred privates, were made priſoners. Of Stark's brigade four officers and ten privates were killed and forty-two were wounded.

Aug. 18. In the account of this battle, which Stark ſent to the committee of New-Hampſhire, he ſaid, 'our people behaved with the greateſt 'ſpirit and bravery imaginable. Had every 'man been an Alexander, or a Charles of 'Sweden, they could not have behaved bet-'ter.' He was ſenſible of the advantage of keeping on the flank of the enemy's main body; and therefore ſent for one thouſand men to replace thoſe whoſe time had expired; but intimated to the committee that he himſelf ſhould return with the brigade. They cordially thanked him 'for the very eſſential 'ſervice which he had done to the country,' but earneſtly preſſed him to continue in the command; and ſent him a reinforcement,

'assuring the men that they were to serve 1777.
'under General Stark.' This argument prevailed with the men to march, and with Stark to remain.

The prisoners taken in this battle were sent to Boston. The trophies were divided between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts. But Congress heard of this victory by accident. Having waited some time in expectation of letters, and none arriving; inquiry was made why Stark had not written to Congress? He answered, that his correspondence with them was closed, as they had not attended to his last letters. They took the hint; and though they had but a few days before resolved, that the instructions which he had received were destructive of military subordination, and prejudicial to the common cause; yet they presented their thanks to him, and to the officers and troops under his command, and promoted him to the rank of a Brigadier General, in the army of the United States.

This victory gave a severe check to the hopes of the enemy, and raised the spirits of the people after long depression. It wholly changed the face of affairs in the northern department. Instead of disappointment and retreat, and the loss of men by hard labor and sickness; we now were convinced, not only that our militia could fight without being covered by intrenchments; but that they were able, even without artillery, to cope with regular troops in their intrenchments. The success thus gained was regarded as a good omen of farther advantages. 'Let us get 'them into the woods,' was the language of

1777. the whole country. Burgoyne was daily putting his army into a more hazardous situation; and we determined that no exertion should be wanting on our part to complete the ruin of his boasted enterprise. The northern army was reinforced by the militia of all the neighbouring States. Brigadier Whipple marched with a great part of his brigade; besides which, volunteers in abundance from every part of New-Hampshire flew to the northern army now commanded by General Gates. Two desperate battles were fought, the one at Stillwater and the other at Saratoga; in both of which, the troops of New-Hampshire had a large share of the honor due to the American army. In the former action, two Lieutenant Colonels, Adams and Colburne, and Lieutenant Thomas, were slain in the field; and several other brave officers were wounded, one of whom, Capt. Bell, died in the hospital. In the latter, Lieut. Col. Conner and Lieut. McClary were killed, with a great number of their men; and Col. Scammel was wounded. The consequence of these battles was the surrender of Burgoyne's army. This grand object being attained, the New-Hampshire regiments performed a march of forty miles, and forded the Mohawk river, below the falls, in the space of fourteen hours. The design of this rapid movement was to check the progress of a detachment, commanded by the British General Clinton; who threatened Albany with the same destruction which he had spread in the country below; but on hearing the fate of Burgoyne, he returned quietly to New-York. The regiments then

marched into Pennſylvania and paſſed the winter in huts at Valley-forge. Beſide thoſe officers ſlain at the northward, we ſuſtained a loſs in the death of Major Edward Sherburne, Aid de Camp to General Sullivan, who was killed in a bold, but unſucceſsful action at Germantown. 1777.

After the capture of Burgoyne's army, all danger of invaſion from Canada ceaſed; and the theatre of the war was removed to the ſouthward. The troops of New-Hampſhire, being formed into a diſtinct brigade, partook of all the ſervices and ſufferings, to which their brethren were expoſed. In the battle of Monmouth, a part of them were cloſely engaged, under the conduct of Col. Cilley and Lieut. Col. Dearborn; and behaved with ſuch bravery as to merit the particular approbation of their illuſtrious General. They continued with the main body, all that campaign, and were hutted, in the following winter, at Reading. 1778.

In the ſummer of 1778, when a French fleet appeared on our coaſt, to aid us in the conteſt with Britain; an invaſion of Rhode-Iſland, then poſſeſſed by the Britiſh, was projected, and General Sullivan had the command. Detachments of militia and volunteers, from Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire, formed a part of his troops. But a violent ſtorm, having prevented the co-operation of the French fleet, and driven them to ſea; the army, after a few ſkirmiſhes, was under the diſagreeable neceſſity of quitting the iſland; and the retreat was conducted by Sullivan with the greateſt caution and prudence.

When an expedition into the Indian coun- 1779.

1779. try was determined on, General Sullivan was appointed to the command, and the New-Hampſhire brigade made a part of his force. His route was up the river Suſquehanna into the country of the Senekas; a tract imperfectly known, and into which no troops had ever penetrated. The order of his march was planned with great judgment, and executed with much regularity and perſeverance. In ſeveral engagements with the Savages, the troops of New-Hampſhire behaved with their uſual intrepidity. Capt. Cloyes and Lieut. McAulay were killed, and Major Titcomb was again badly wounded. The proviſions of the army falling ſhort, before the object of the expedition was completed, the troops generouſly agreed to ſubſiſt on ſuch as could be found in the Indian country. After their return, they rejoined the main army, and paſſed a third winter in huts, at Newtown in Connecticut. In the latter end of this year Sullivan reſigned his command and retired.

1780. In the following year, the New-Hampſhire regiments did duty at the important poſt of Weſt-Point, and afterward marched into New-Jerſey, where General Poor died. Three regiments of militia were employed in the ſervice of this year. The fourth winter was paſſed in a hutted cantonment, at a place called Soldier's Fortune, near Hudſon's river. In the cloſe of this year, the three regiments were reduced to two, which were commanded by the Colonels Scammel and George Reid.

1781. The next year, a part of them remained in the State of New-York, and another part marched to Virginia, and were preſent at the capture of the ſecond Britiſh army, under

Earl Cornwallis. Here the brave and active Col. Scammel was killed. In the winter, the firſt regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. Dearborn, was quartered at Saratoga, and the ſecond on Mohawk river; in which places they were ſtationed, till the cloſe of the following year; when the approach of peace relaxed the operations of war. In a few months, the negotiations were ſo far advanced, that a treaty was made; and the *ſame* royal lips, which from the throne had pronounced us 'revolted 'ſubjects,' now acknowledged us as 'FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.' 1782.

CHAP. XXVI.

Paper-money. Confiſcations. State Conſtitution. Controverſy with Vermont.

THE war in which we became involved with Britain, found us not deſtitute of reſources, but unſkilled in the art of finance. Former wars had been maintained by a paper currency; which, though it depreciated in ſome meaſure, yet was finally redeemed by the reimburſements which we received from the Britiſh Treaſury. We had been alſo uſed to iſſue bills on loan, and receive landed property as ſecurity for its redemption. To the ſame mode we had recourſe on this occaſion, without either of the foundations on which our former currencies had been ſupported. Bills of credit were emitted with no other fund for their redemption than taxation, and that deferred to diſtant periods. It was imagined that the juſtice of our cauſe, and the united ardor and patriotiſm of the people, would preſerve the value of theſe bills during the conteſt which we were very ſanguine would be ſhort; and
1776. in fact the circulation of them for the firſt year was ſupported by no other means. But being counterfeited, they began to depreciate, and then it was thought neceſſary to enact a law againſt forging them, and to make them
July 3. a legal tender in all payments. In ſome of the States, theſe bills were made a tender for the intereſt, but not for the principal of former debts; but in New-Hampſhire, if the creditor ſhould refuſe them when offered in

payment, the whole debt was cancelled. Had this law regarded future contracts only, every man would have known on what terms to make his engagements; but to declare it legal to pay debts, already contracted, with money of an inferior value, was altogether unjuſt. It was not in human power to prevent a depreciation of the bills; and the enforcing of their currency accelerated the deſtruction of their value. The fraudulent debtor took advantage of this law to cheat his creditor, under colour of juſtice; whilſt the creditor had no other refuge, than in ſome caſes privately to transfer the written obligation; and in other caſes to refuſe the tender, at the riſque indeed of loſing the debt; but in hope that juſtice would at ſome future time have its courſe. Huſbandmen, who lived remote from the ſcene of hoſtilities, and who had the produce of the earth at their command, were able to keep their property good. Hawkers and monopoliſers, who crept from obſcurity and aſſumed the name of merchants, could even increaſe their ſubſtance in theſe perilous times. But thoſe perſons whoſe property was in other men's hands; or whoſe living depended on ſtated ſalaries; or whoſe honeſt minds could not deſcend to practiſe knavery, though eſtabliſhed by law, were doomed to ſuffer. 1776.

To palliate theſe evils, at one time, a law was enacted againſt monopoly and extortion; and when found impracticable, it was repealed. At other times, the prices of different articles were ſtated under ſevere penalties; but ways were ſoon found to evade theſe eſtabliſhments; and when found ineffectual, 1777.

1777. the laws were repealed. It is not consistent with the nature of commerce to bear such restrictions; and the laws increased the evils which they pretended to cure. At another time public sales by auction were prohibited, because it was said that they were the means of depreciating the currency; but in fact they served only to demonstrate its real value. There was a disposition in the governing part of the people to keep out of sight the true cause of this growing mischief. Even the general Congress, in a public address which they ordered to be read in the congregations, assembled for religious worship, after saying much in praise of paper money, told us, that it was 'the *only* kind of 'money which could not make to itself wings 'and fly away.' Had this been intended as the language of burlesque, it might have been received with a smile; in any other sense, it was an insult to the feelings of honest men.

Circular letter of Sept. 13, 1779.

In the midst of these distresses, frequent meetings of different bodies of men were held, to consult on some practicable modes of relief. Committees of counties, and of different States, at various times, formed projects, and issued public addresses; but palliatives in this, as in all other cases, soon lost their efficacy. From one of these Conventions, holden at Springfield, and composed of delegates from the New-England States and New-York; a letter was addressed to the general Congress, which put them on devising means to surmount the existing difficulties. Among other expedients they recommended effectual taxation, the opening of loan-offices, and that the States individually should emit no more

July and August. MS minutes of Convention.

bills of credit. Theſe were ſalutary propoſals; but the moſt notable effect of this letter was a recommendation from Congreſs to the ſeveral States 'to confiſcate and make 'ſale of all the real and perſonal eſtates of 'ſuch of their inhabitants and other perſons 'as had forfeited the ſame, and the right to 'the protection of their reſpective States; 'and to inveſt the money ariſing from the 'ſales in continental loan certificates, to be 'appropriated as the reſpective States ſhould 'direct.' 1777. Journal of Congreſs, Nov. 27.

This was a delicate point, and required the moſt critical diſcuſſion. It involved a queſtion of national law; and ſome perſons who were acquainted with the ſubject, thought ſuch a ſtep not only illegal, but impolitic and dangerous. In caſes of war between independent nations, acknowledging no common ſuperior, the acquiſition of immoveable property is not complete till confirmed by a treaty of peace. The war between America and Britain was ſo far a war between two independent nations, that the common laws of war ought to have been obſerved. Had the eſtates of abſentees been taken into poſſeſſion, and the income ariſing from them been applied to the ſupport of the war; and had the queſtion of property remained undecided till the concluſion of a peace, there is no doubt that the State would have been a gainer both in reputation and intereſt; but when we were daily cheating and deceiving ourſelves with a fraudulent paper medium, it is not ſtrange that the voice of juſtice toward thoſe whom we deemed our enemies could not be heard. Vattel.

1778. The firſt ſtep toward executing this recommendation of Congreſs, was an act proſcribing certain perſons, to the number of ſeventy-ſix, who had at various times, and for various reaſons, quitted this State. Theſe were forbidden to return without leave, under the penalty of tranſportation; and in caſe of a ſecond return, they were to ſuffer death.

The next ſtep, was to confiſcate the whole eſtate, real and perſonal, of twenty-eight of the proſcribed; of whom it was declared that they had 'juſtly forfeited all right to 'protection from the State; and alſo their 'right to any farther enjoyment of their in-'tereſt and property within it.'

In theſe acts, no diſtinction was made between thoſe perſons who had withdrawn themſelves from the State, by a ſenſe of their duty; thoſe who were in fact Britiſh ſubjects, but occaſionally reſident here; thoſe who had abſconded through timidity; and thoſe who had committed crimes againſt expreſs law, and had fled from juſtice. No conditional offer of pardon was made; no time was allowed for any to return and enter into the ſervice of the country; but the whole were put indiſcriminately into one *black liſt*, and ſtigmatiſed as 'having baſely deſerted 'the cauſe of liberty, and manifeſted a diſ-'poſition inimical to the State, and a deſign 'to aid its enemies in their wicked purpoſes.'

Some perſons who had legal demands on theſe eſtates, had for the ſecurity of their debts laid attachments on them; but by another act, all attachments which had been made ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, were declared null and void, and the Courts were required to diſmiſs them.

Truſtees were appointed in each county to take poſſeſſion of all theſe eſtates, real and perſonal; and to ſell the perſonal immediately at public auction; with a diſcretionary power to leave out of the ſale ſuch articles as they ſhould deem neceſſary, to the ſupport of the families of the proſcribed. To preſerve ſome farther appearance of juſtice, the creditors of theſe eſtates, though they were not allowed to bid at the auctions without payment, were ordered to exhibit their claims to the truſtees, and in caſes of inſolvency, all claims were to be ſettled by the Judges of Probate. 1778.

Whilſt the ſettlement of theſe eſtates was going on, the money was rapidly depreciating. After the year 1777, the State iſſued no more bills, and the former were called in and exchanged for Treaſurer's notes on intereſt, of a value not leſs than five pounds. The Continental bills continued paſſing and depreciating till the ſpring of 1781, when ſuddenly, and by general conſent, they went out of circulation, and ſolid coin ſucceeded in their place. Then a ſcale of depreciation for the preceding years of the war was framed, and all paſt payments were regulated by it. The treaty of peace obliged us to proceed no farther in the matter of confiſcations. By a ſubſequent act, the Judges of Probate were empowered to liquidate by the ſcale of depreciation, the ſums paid into the Treaſury by the Truſtees; to receive claims againſt the eſtates, and to adjuſt and certify the ſame to the Preſident, who was authoriſed to order the Treaſurer, to iſſue notes, bearing intereſt from the time when the ſaid ſums were

March 1, 1783.

1778. paid into the Treasury; which notes the creditors were to receive in payment; but if any of the estates should prove insolvent, then the creditors were to receive their average. In this manner some of these estates have been settled and the creditors paid; others remain unsettled. Some of them barely paid the expenses of their management; others were rendered insolvent. The estate of the late Governor paid all the demands upon it excepting that of his father; who generously withdrew his claim that the other creditors might be paid in full.* The clear profit to

* The following papers are taken from the Registry of Probate for the county of Rockingham.

'*Rockingham, ss.* Feb. 16, 1786. I hereby certify, that the sums 'against each person's name herein set down, were respectively due to 'them the last day of July 1782, from the estate of the late Governor, 'John Wentworth, Esq. at which time it appears there had been receiv-'ed into the Treasury, a sufficiency to pay all the demands, exhibited 'against him, except his father's; who has withdrawn his, that the 'others might be paid in full. P. White, Judge of Probate.'

'Portsmouth, Feb. 6, 1785. Sir, After considering the great delays 'in settling the demands against the estate of my son, Governor Went-'worth, and the probability, from the ill management thereof, before it 'fell under your direction, that it will be greatly insolvent; and feeling 'for the distress of many of the creditors, and wishing that all may have 'their just demands paid, I have determined to remove their embarrass-'ment as far as I can, by withdrawing my account and claim, until theirs 'be fully adjusted and discharged, by you or other proper officers. Re-'serving to myself still the right of claiming, if there should be found a 'surplus or balance in his favor. For as proved by my account and au-'thentic vouchers ready to be produced, that, exclusive of my account be-'fore, I have paid off several creditors to a considerable amount, since he 'left this government; and had also greatly augmented the value of his 'estate at Wolfborough, by my advances and care thereof, all to the benefit 'of his present creditors. I shall therefore be greatly obliged, by your di-'recting that my account be sent me; and I shall hope for your future 'friendly interposition, if it should be found necessary; being, with the 'highest esteem and respect, your most humble servant,

'Mark H. Wentworth.'

'Phillips White, Esq.'

A general statement of the claims against the confiscated estate of the late Governor John Wentworth, and the neat proceeds from the sale of it; the account being not yet settled. April, 1791.

Dr.	The claim of M. H. Wentworth, proved by authentic vouchers,	£13680	10 11
	Amount of other claims proved as above,	3877	15 3¾
	Paid to several other creditors, since the Governor's absence, by M. H. Wentworth.	819	11 6
		£18377	17 3¾
Cr.	Paid into the Treasury by the Trustee for said estate,	10435	8 6

the State from all theſe confiſcations, as far as it has been aſcertained, is inconſiderable. 1778.

Power when delegated without reſtrictions, and for the abuſe of which the delegate is not held accountable, has a ſtrong tendency toward deſpotiſm. The temporary conſtitution which we had adopted at the beginning of the war, was found, by experience, to have many imperfections; and the neceſſity of checks and excluſions became every day more evident. Other States were forming conſtitutions on certain eſtabliſhed principles, and defining their rights as a preliminary to the delegation of power. An attempt of the like kind was made in New-Hampſhire. A convention of delegates, choſen for the purpoſe, drew up and ſent abroad a ſyſtem of government; but ſo deficient was it in its principles, and ſo inadequate in its proviſions, that being propoſed to the people, in their town-meetings, it was rejected. Another convention was appointed, which had more advantage than the former, the neighbouring State of Maſſachuſetts having digeſted and adopted a conſtitution, which was ſuppoſed to be an improvement on all which had been framed in America. This convention had no leſs than nine ſeſſions, and continued for more than two years. In the firſt plan of government which they compoſed, they diſtinctly ſtated the alienable and unalienable rights of the people. They divided the government into three branches, legiſlative, executive and judicial, and defined the limits of each. The legiſlative branch was compoſed of a Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives. The Senate was to conſiſt of twelve perſons, 1779. From June 1781, to Oct. 1783.

1781. five for the county of Rockingham, two for Strafford, two for Hillſborough, two for Cheſhire and one for Grafton. Theſe were to be voted for in town-meetings, and the votes ſealed and returned to the Secretary's office. The number of Repreſentatives was limited to fifty, and apportioned among the counties, thus; twenty for Rockingham; eight for Strafford; ten for Hillſborough; eight for Cheſhire; and four for Grafton. Theſe were to be elected by the County Conventions, conſiſting of one delegate for every fifty rateable polls. This mode was recommended, to prevent thoſe intereſted views and that party ſpirit, which too often appear in ſingle towns in the election of Repreſentatives. The executive power was veſted in a Governor, whom the Convention, in their addreſs to the people, deſcribed in the following terms: 'They 'have arrayed him with honors, they have 'armed him with power and ſet him on high; 'but ſtill he is only the right hand of your 'power, and the mirror of your majeſty.' But though armed with power and liable to be impeached for miſconduct, he was ſhrouded from reſponſibility, by a Council, without whoſe advice he could not take one ſtep of any importance. The judicial department was to be appointed by the executive and ſupported by the legiſlative; but the Judges were removeable for miſconduct, by the Governor and Council, on the addreſs of both Houſes of the Legiſlature. Juſtices of the Peace were to hold their commiſſions five years only. Proviſion was made for the excluſion of perſons from holding ſeveral offices at the ſame time; the reaſon of which

was thus expreſſed. 'Beſides the interfer- 1781.
'ence of ſeveral offices held by the ſame per-
'ſon in point of time, which we have ſeen,
'and the difficulty of one man's giving his
'attention to many matters ſufficiently to
'underſtand them all, which we have too
'often felt; there is a ſtill ſtronger reaſon,
'which is the difficulty of a man's preſerving
'his integrity in diſcharging the duties of
'each.' The encouragement of literature was alſo recommended as eſſential to the preſervation of a free government, and it was declared to be the duty of legiſlators to cheriſh its intereſts.

This plan was printed and ſent to every town. The inhabitants were requeſted to ſtate their objections diſtinctly to any particular part, and return them at a fixed time. Sept. 14. The objections were ſo many and ſo various, that it became neceſſary to alter the form and ſend it out a ſecond time. The name of Governor, and moſt of his powers, were ſtill retained; but the mode of repreſentation was 1782. altered. Inſtead of being elected, by county conventions, the Repreſentatives were to be choſen immediately by the towns; every incorporated townſhip containing one hundred and fifty rateable polls, having the privilege of chooſing one; and every one containing four hundred and fifty, of chooſing two. Particular attention was given to the mode of appointing officers of militia. Inſtead of ſuperior officers being choſen by their inferiors, and inferior officers by the privates, as had been practiſed ſince the beginning of the war, the order of appointment was reverſed, and the privates had no

1782. power of choice at all. This was said to be necessary to the preservation of harmony, subordination and discipline. The second plan being sent out was generally approved; but it was not completed at the time when the news of peace arrived. The old form having expired with the war, it was, by the votes of the people in their town-meetings, revived and continued for one year longer. In the following autumn, the new form was finished; and the name of Governor being changed to President, it was a third time printed and declared to be 'the civil constitution for the State of New-Hampshire.' It took place on the second day of the following June, and was introduced at Concord by a religious solemnity, which has since been repeated at every annual election.

1783. March and April.

Oct. 31.

1784.

To the convention which formed this constitution several towns in the western part of the State did not send delegates. The cause of this omission, and of some other eccentricities in the conduct of the people in that quarter must now be explained.

The inhabitants of the district on the western side of Connecticut river, which was severed from New-Hampshire in 1764, had been engaged in a long and bitter controversy with the government of New-York. They had even been obliged to have recourse to arms in defence of their estates; and frequent acts of violence had been committed. There was among them a set of intrepid men, ready to encounter dangers, and trained to hardy enterprise. At the commencement of hostilities, by the advice of some principal opposers of the British Government, in the other

Colonies, a company of thoſe people ſtyling themſelves Green Mountain Boys, marched to Ticonderoga, and wreſted that fortreſs, together with Crown-Point, out of the hands of the Britiſh garriſons. A regiment of them was embodied by order and in the pay of the general Congreſs. Their exertions in the common cauſe were meritorious and their ſervices were acceptable. 1784. 1775.

Soon after the declaration of independence, the inhabitants of that territory aſſembled in convention to conſider their peculiar ſituation and concert meaſures for their ſafety. The opportunity which then preſented for a change in their political connexions, was too precious to be loſt. By the diſſolution of the bonds which had held America in ſubjection to the Crown of Britain, they conceived themſelves free from the government of New-York, to which the moſt of them had never voluntarily ſubmitted; and, being as they ſaid, reduced to 'a ſtate of nature,' they thought that they had a right to form ſuch connexions as were agreeable to themſelves. Accordingly they made and publiſhed a declaration; 'that they would at all times con- 1777.
'ſider themſelves as a free and independent Jan. 15.
'State; capable of regulating their own in-
'ternal police; that they had the ſole exclu-
'ſive right of governing themſelves, in ſuch
'manner as they ſhould chooſe, not repug-
'nant to the reſolves of Congreſs; and that
'they were ready to contribute their propor-
'tion to the common defence.' Under the influence of theſe principles, they formed a plan of government and a code of laws, and petitioned Congreſs to receive them into the union. 1776.

1778. The inhabitants on the eaſtern ſide of Connecticut river were very conveniently ſituated to unite with thoſe on the weſtern ſide, and many of them had the ſame principles and views. They argued that the original grant of New-Hampſhire to Maſon was circumſcribed by a line drawn at the diſtance of ſixty miles from the ſea; that all the lands weſtward of that line, being royal grants, had been held in ſubjection to the government of New-Hampſhire by force of the royal commiſſions, which were vacated by the aſſumed independence of the American Colonies; and therefore that the inhabitants of all thoſe lands had 'reverted to a ſtate of nature.' By this expreſſion, however, they did not mean that each individual was reduced to ſuch a ſtate; but that each town retained its corporate unity, unconnected with any ſuperior juriſdiction. They diſtinguiſhed between commiſſions derived from the King, which were revokable at his pleaſure, and incorporations held on certain conditions, which being performed, the powers and privileges granted by the incorporations were perpetual. They aſſerted that juriſdictions eſtabliſhed by royal commiſſions could bind a people together no longer than the force which firſt compelled continues to operate; but when the coercive power of the King was rejected, and its operation had ceaſed, the people had a right to make a ſtand at the firſt legal ſtage, viz. their town incorporations. Theſe by univerſal conſent were held ſacred; hence they concluded that the major part of each one of thoſe towns had a right to control the minor part; and they conſidered themſelves

Obſervations on the right of juriſdiction over N. H. Grants. Printed 1778.

Public defence of the right of N. Hampſhire Grants, &c. Printed 1779.

as ſo many diſtinct corporations, until they ſhould agree to unite in one aggregate body. 1778.

In theſe ſentiments the people were not all united. The majority of ſome towns was in favor of their former connexion, and in thoſe towns where the majority inclined the other way, the minority claimed protection of the government.

They ſuppoſed that the exiſtence of their town-incorporations, and of the privileges annexed to them, depended on their union to New-Hampſhire; and that their acceptance of the grants was in effect an acknowledgment of the juriſdiction, and a ſubmiſſion to the laws of the State; from which they could not fairly be diſengaged without its conſent; as the State had never injured or oppreſſed them.

Much pains, were taken, by the other party, to diſſeminate the new ideas. Conventions were held, pamphlets were printed, and at length a petition was drawn in the name of ſixteen towns* on the eaſtern ſide of Connecticut river, requeſting the new State, which had aſſumed the name of VERMONT, to receive them into its union, alleging, 'that 'they were not connected with any State, 'with reſpect to their internal police.' The Aſſembly at firſt appeared to be againſt receiving them; but the members from thoſe

MSS in N. Hampſhire files.

* 1 Corniſh,
2 Lebanon,
3 *Dreſden*, { a name given to the liſtrict belonging to Dartmouth College; but now diſuſed.
4 Lime,
5 Orford,
6 Piermont,
7 Haverhill,
8 Bath,
9 Lyman,
10 *Aptborp*, { now divided into Littleton and Dalton.
11 Enfield,
12 Canaan,
13 *Cardigan*, now Orange,
14 Landaff,
15 *Gunthwaite*, now New Concord,
16 *Morris-town*, now Franconia.

1778. towns which were ſituated near the river on the weſt ſide, declared that they would withdraw and join with the people on the eaſt ſide, in forming a new State. The queſtion was then referred to the people at large, and means were uſed to influence a majority of
June 11. the towns to vote in favor of the union, which the Aſſembly could not but confirm. The ſixteen towns were accordingly received; and the Vermont Aſſembly reſolved, that any other towns on the eaſtern ſide of the river might be admitted on producing a vote of a majority of the inhabitants, or on the appointment of a Repreſentative. Being thus admitted into the State of Vermont, they gave notice to the government of New-Hampſhire, of the ſeparation which they had made, and expreſſed their wiſh for
June 25. an amicable ſettlement of a juriſdictional line, and a friendly correſpondence.

Aug. 22. The Preſident of New-Hampſhire, in the name of the Aſſembly, wrote to the Governor of Vermont, claiming the ſixteen towns as part of the State, the limits of which had been determined prior to the revolution; reminding him that thoſe towns had ſent delegates to the convention in 1775; that they had applied to the Aſſembly for arms and ammunition, which had been ſent to them; that their military officers had accepted commiſſions and obeyed orders from the government; that the minority of thoſe towns was averſe to a diſunion, and had claimed protection of the State, which the Aſſembly thought themſelves bound to afford; and beſeeching him to uſe his influence with the Aſſembly of Vermont to diſſolve the newly formed connexion.

At the same time, the President wrote to the delegates of the State in Congress; desiring them to take advice and endeavour to obtain the interposition of that body; intimating his apprehension, that without it, the controversy must be decided by the sword, as every condescending measure had been used from the beginning and rejected. 1778. Aug. 19.

The Governor and Council of Vermont sent a messenger to Congress to see in what light the new State was viewed by them. On his return he reported, that the Congress was unanimously opposed to the union of the sixteen towns with Vermont; otherwise they (excepting the delegates of New-York) had no objection to the independence of the new State.

At the next session of the Vermont Assembly at Windsor, when the Representatives of the sixteen towns had taken their seats, a debate arose on a question, whether they should be erected into a new county, which passed in the negative. Conceiving that they were not admitted to equal privileges with their brethren, the members from those towns withdrew; and were followed by several others belonging to the towns adjoining the river on the west side. They formed themselves into a convention, and invited all the towns on both sides of the river to unite, and set up another State by the name of New-Connecticut. This secession had nearly proved fatal to the State of Vermont. A ridge of mountains which extends from south to north through that territory, seemed to form not only a natural, but a political line of division. A more cordial union subsisted between the people on the eastern side of the Green Moun- October.

1778. tains, and the eaſtern ſide of Connecticut river, than between the latter and thoſe on the weſtern ſide of the mountains ; but theſe alone were inſufficient, without the others, to make a State. The Governor, and other leading men of Vermont, who reſided on the weſt ſide of the Mountains, wrote letters to the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire, informing them of the ſeparation, and expreſſing their diſapprobation of a connexion with the ſixteen towns. The Aſſembly regarded theſe letters as ambiguous, and as not expreſſing a diſinclination to any *future* connexion with them. Jealouſy is ſaid to be a republican virtue ; it operated on this occaſion, and the event proved that it was not without foundation.

Dec. 9. A convention of delegates from ſeveral towns on both ſides of the river aſſembled at Corniſh and agreed to unite, without any regard to the limits eſtabliſhed by the King in 1764 ; and to make the following propoſals to New-Hampſhire, viz. either to agree with them on a dividing line, or to ſubmit the diſpute to Congreſs, or to arbitrators mutually choſen. If neither of theſe propoſals were accepted, then, in caſe they could agree with New-Hampſhire on a form of government, they would conſent that 'the whole of the 'grants on both ſides of the river ſhould con-'nect themſelves with New-Hampſhire, and 'become one entire State, as before the royal 'determination in 1764.' Till one or other of theſe propoſals ſhould be complied with they determine 'to truſt in Providence and 'defend themſelves.'

1779. An attempt was made in the following year to form a conſtitution for New-Hampſhire,

in which the limits of the State were ſaid to be the ſame as under the royal government 'reſerving nevertheleſs our claim to the New-Hampſhire Grants weſt of Connecticut river.' Though this form of government was rejected by a majority of the people; yet there was a diſpoſition in a great part of the Aſſembly to retain their claim to the whole of the grants weſtward of the river. At the ſame time the State of New-York ſet up a claim to the ſame lands, and it was ſuſpected, perhaps not without reaſon, that intrigues were forming to divide Vermont between New-Hampſhire and New-York, by the ridge of mountains which runs through the territory. Certain it is that the Vermonters were alarmed; and, that they might have the ſame advantage of their adverſaries, they extended their claim weſtward into New-York, and eaſtward into New-Hampſhire; and thus not only the ſixteen towns, but ſeveral other towns in the counties of Cheſhire and Grafton, became incorporated with Vermont by 'articles of union and confederation.' 1779.

It is not eaſy to develope the intrigues of the ſeveral parties, or to clear their tranſactions from the obſcurity which ſurrounds them.* He who looks for conſiſtency in the proceedings of the Conventions and Aſſemblies which were involved in this controverſy, will be diſappointed. Several interfering intereſts conſpired to perplex the ſubject. The people on the weſtern ſide of the Green

* The author has ſpared no pains to gain as perfect a knowledge of theſe things as the nature of them will admit. If he has not ſucceeded in obtaining materials, for a juſt and full account, it is his requeſt that thoſe who are better acquainted with the ſubject would oblige the public with more accurate information.

1779. Mountains, wiſhed to have the ſeat of government among them. Thoſe adjoining Connecticut river, on both ſides, were deſirous of bringing the centre of juriſdiction to the verge of the river. The leading men in the eaſtern part of New-Hampſhire, were averſe to a removal of the government from its old ſeat. Vermont had aſſumed independence; but its limits were not defined. New-York had a claim on that territory as far as Connecticut River, from which there was no diſpoſition to recede. That State had been always oppoſed to the independence of Vermont. New-Hampſhire at firſt ſeemed to acquieſce in it; and ſome letters which the Preſident wrote to the Governor of Vermont, when threatened with invaſion in 1777, were underſtood as an acknowledgment of it. Had there been no attempt to unite with the towns on the eaſtern ſide of the river, New-Hampſhire would perhaps never have oppoſed the independence of Vermont. But the Aſſembly was afterward induced to claim all that territory, which before the year 1764, had been ſuppoſed to be within the limits of the State. This interfered with the claim of New-York; and at the ſame time Maſſachuſetts put in a claim to a part of Vermont. The controverſy had become ſo intricate, that it was thought neceſſary to be decided by Congreſs; and application being made to
Sept. 24. that body, they recommended to the three States of New-York, Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire, to paſs acts which ſhould authoriſe Congreſs to determine their boundaries; and at the ſame time they adviſed the people of Vermont to relinquiſh juriſdiction over

all *perſons* on the weſt or eaſt ſides of Connecticut river, who had not denied the authority of New-York and New-Hampſhire; and to abſtain from granting lands, or confiſcating eſtates, within their aſſumed limits, till the matter ſhould be decided. The States of New-York and New-Hampſhire paſſed theſe acts; but Maſſachuſetts did not. The Vermont Aſſembly proceeded in granting lands and confiſcating eſtates; and Congreſs could only reſolve that their proceedings were unwarrantable. 1779.

It was neceſſary that nine States ſhould be preſent in Congreſs, beſide thoſe whoſe claims were to be heard. A deficiency in the repreſentation cauſed a long delay; but after the expiration of another year the queſtion was brought on. The claims of New-York and New-Hampſhire were put in; and both pleaded that Vermont had no right to independence. The agents of the New-State aſſerted their right, and offered to become part of the Union; intimating, that if they could not be admitted, they ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of making the beſt terms with the Britiſh government.* 1780. Sept. 20.

* How far intrigues of this kind were carried on it may be difficult to aſcertain; but that the Britiſh Government had ſome dependence on the defection of Vermont appears from the following paragraph of an intercepted letter from Lord George Germaine, to Sir Henry Clinton, dated Whitehall, Feb. 7, 1781.

'The return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, is an event of the utmoſt importance to the King's affairs; and at this time, if the French and Waſhington really meditate an irruption into Canada, may be conſidered as oppoſing an inſurmountable bar to the attempt. General Haldiman, who had the ſame inſtructions with you to draw over thoſe people, and give them ſupport, will, I doubt not, puſh up a body of troops, to act in conjunction with them, to ſecure all the avenues, through their country into Canada; and when the ſeaſon admits, take poſſeſſion of the upper parts of the Hudſon's and Connecticut rivers, and cut off the communication between Albany and the Mohawk country. How far they may be able to extend themſelves ſouthward and eaſtward, muſt depend on their numbers, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants.' Printed in the Pennſylvania Packet, Auguſt 4, 1781.

1781. Aug. 20. The cauſe was farther perplexed by a conſtitutional queſtion, whether Congreſs had any power to form a new State within the limits of the union? The deciſion was deferred; and after eleven months, Congreſs had proceeded no farther, than to lay it down as an indiſpenſable preliminary, to the recognition of Vermont, as a member of the union; that they ſhould 'explicitly relinquiſh all demands of land and juriſdiction on the eaſt 'ſide of Connecticut river, and on the weſt 'ſide of a line drawn twenty miles eaſtward 'of Hudſon's river to Lake Champlain.'

Oct. 19. When this reſolution was laid before the Aſſembly of Vermont, which met at Charleſtown, they determined to 'remain firm in the 'principles on which they firſt aſſumed gov- 'ernment, and to hold the articles of union 'inviolate, that they would not ſubmit the 'queſtion of their independence to the arbit- 'rament of any power whatever; but they 'were willing at preſent to refer the queſ- 'tion of their juriſdictional boundary to 'commiſſioners mutually choſen, and when 'they ſhould be admitted into the American 'union, they would ſubmit any ſuch diſputes 'to Congreſs.'

MS. copy of Vermont reſolves, in N. Hampſhire files.

The ſtate of ſociety within the ſeceding towns, at this time, was very unhappy. The majorities attempted to control the minorities; and theſe were diſpoſed not to ſubmit, but to ſeek protection of the government with which they had been connected. At the ſame time and in the ſame place, Juſtices, Sheriffs and Conſtables, appointed by the authority of both ſtates, were exerciſing juriſdiction over the ſame perſons. Party rage,

high words and deep reſentment, were the effect of theſe claſhing intereſts. An affray which began in the town of Cheſterfield, threatened a ſcene of open hoſtility, between the States of New-Hampſhire and Vermont. 1781.

A Conſtable, appointed by the authority of Vermont, had a writ, in an action of debt againſt a man who was in the intereſt of New-Hampſhire. He found the man in company with a number of people of his own party, and attempted to arreſt him. The owner of the houſe interpoſed. The Conſtable produced a book which he ſaid contained the laws of Vermont, and began to read. The owner of the houſe forbad him. Threatening words were uſed; and the officer was compelled to retreat. By a warrant from a Vermont Juſtice, the houſeholder, and another of the company, were committed to priſon in Charleſtown. They ſent a petition to the Aſſembly of New-Hampſhire for relief. The Aſſembly empowered the committee of ſafety to direct the Sheriff of Cheſhire to releaſe the priſoners; they farther empowered the committee to cauſe to be apprehended and committed to priſon, in any of the counties, all perſons acting under the pretended authority of the State of Vermont, to be tried by the Courts of thoſe counties where they might be confined; and for this purpoſe the Sheriffs were empowered to raiſe the *poſſe Comitatus*. Nov. 14. MS. depoſitions and letters in the files. Nov. 28.

In attempting to releaſe the two priſoners from Charleſtown gaol, the Sheriff himſelf was impriſoned by the Vermont Sheriff, under the authority of a warrant from three Juſtices. The impriſoned Sheriff applied to a Brigadier General of New-Hampſhire, to raiſe the

1782. militia for his liberation. This alarmed the Vermonters; and orders were iſſued by the
Jan. 12. Governor for their militia to oppoſe force with force. A committee of Vermont was ſent to Exeter, 'to agree on meaſures to 'prevent hoſtilities.' One of this committee was the Vermont Sheriff; he was immediately arreſted and thrown into priſon at Exeter, and there held as a hoſtage for the releaſe of the Sheriff of Cheſhire. The aſſembly iſſued a proclamation, allowing forty days for the people in the revolted towns to repair to ſome Magiſtrate of New-Hampſhire, and ſubſcribe a declaration, that they acknowledged the extent of New-Hampſhire to Connecticut river; and that they would demean themſelves peaceably as good citizens of the State. They alſo ordered the militia of all the counties to hold themſelves in readineſs to march againſt the revolters.

While affairs wore ſuch a threatening aſpect between the two States, means were uſed at Congreſs to take up the controverſy on more general ground. A committee, who had under conſideration the affair of admitting Vermont into the union and determining its boundaries, prevailed on General Waſhington, then at Philadelphia,
Jan. 1. to write to the Governor of Vermont, adviſing to a relinquiſhment of their late extenſion, as an 'indiſpenſable preliminary,' to their admiſſion into the union; intimating alſo, that upon their non-compliance, they muſt be conſidered as having a hoſtile diſpoſition toward the United States, in which caſe *coercion* on the part of Congreſs, however diſagreeable, would be neceſſary.

Appendix, No. 6.

This letter had the desired effect. The Assembly of Vermont, taking advantage of the absence of the members from the eastern side of the river, obtained a majority for complying with the preliminary, and resolved, 'that the western bank of Connecticut river 'on the one part, and a line drawn from the 'north-west corner of Massachusetts, north-'ward, to Lake Champlain on the other part, be 'the eastern and western boundaries of the 'State of Vermont, and that they relinquished 'all claim of jurisdiction without those limits.' When the members from the eastern side of Connecticut river arrived, they found themselves excluded from a seat in the Assembly, and took their leave with some expressions of bitterness. 1782. Feb. 22.

After this compliance, it was expected that Vermont would be admitted into the union, and the question was solemnly put in Congress; but a majority decided against it; to the no small disappointment of many persons, beside the inhabitants of the disputed territory. The pretence for this decision was, that they had exceeded the limited time; but they had complied with the 'indispensable prelim-'inary;' and the order of Congress, requiring it, stood unrepealed. April 14.

Though cut off from their connexion with Vermont, the revolted towns did not at once return to a state of peace; but the divisions and animosities which had so long subsisted, continued to produce disagreeable effects. The judicial Courts of New-Hampshire had sat without much interruption, in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton, whilst the officers of Vermont held jurisdiction also; but

1782. when the latter were excluded by the act of the Vermont Assembly, a spirit of opposition began to arise against the sitting of the former.

September. When the Inferior Court was holden at Keene, a number of persons appeared, to oppose its proceedings, and effected their purpose so far as to make an adjournment necessary; but three of the leaders of the opposition were arrested and bound over to the Superior Court. In the mean time efforts were made to raise a party who should oppose the Superior Court; and it was reported that two hundred men had associated and armed themOctober. selves for that purpose. On the morning before the court was opened, several of the leaders came to the Judges' chambers and presented a petition, praying, 'that the Court 'might be adjourned, and that no judicial 'proceedings might be had, whilst the troub-'les in which the country had been involved 'still subsisted.' They were told that the Judges could come to no determination on the subject, but in open Court. When the Court was opened, their petition was publicly read; and the consideration of it was postponed to the next day. The Court then proceeded to its common business. The Grand Jury being impannelled, the doors of the house where they met were kept open, whilst the Attorney General laid before them the case of the rioters at the inferior Court. A bill was found against them. They were arraigned, they pleaded guilty, and cast themselves on the mercy of the Court. The Court remitted their punishment on condition of their future peaceable behavior. This well

judged combination of firmneſs and lenity 1782.
diſarmed the inſurgents; and they quietly diſperſed. From that time the ſpirit of oppoſition to government in that quarter gradually abated; and the people returned to their connexion with New-Hampſhire.

CHAP. XXVII.

Popular diſcontent. Efforts for paper currency. Tender acts. Inſurrection. Dignity and lenity of government. Federal Conſtitution.

THE American revolution had been crowned with ſucceſs, as far as it reſpected our emancipation from foreign juriſdiction, the eſtabliſhment of forms of government among ourſelves, and our deliverance from war. It remained, to accommodate the minds and manners of the people, under the new adminiſtration, to a regular courſe of juſtice, both public and private; to perfect the union of the States; and to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of finance. Theſe things were neceſſary to make the revolution complete.

The extremes of deſpotiſm on the one hand, and of licentiouſneſs on the other, are equally to be avoided. In a juſt medium between theſe, a government well balanced and executed with vigor, is capable of producing the moſt valuable benefits. To this point it was neceſſary to conduct our revolution. But it was equally neceſſary, that it ſhould proceed by ſlow degrees; that errors in principle ſhould be gradually reformed; and that men ſhould be taught, by their own experience, the folly of relying on any ſyſtem of politics, which, however ſupported by popularity, is not founded in rectitude.

A large debt, accumulated by the war, remained to be diſcharged. For this purpoſe, requiſitions were made by Congreſs, as well as by the State Government. Silver and

gold, which had circulated largely in the latter years of the war, were returning, by the uſual courſe of trade, to thoſe countries, whence large quantities of neceſſary and unneceſſary commodities had been imported. Had any general ſyſtem of impoſt been adopted, ſome part of this money might have been retained, and ſome part of the public debt diſcharged; but the power of Congreſs did not extend to this object; and the States were not united in the expediency of delegating new and ſufficient powers to that body. The partial impoſts, laid by ſome of the States, were ineffectual, as long as others found their intereſt in omitting them. Recourſe therefore was had to the uſual mode of taxation on polls and eſtates; by which means, a heavy burden was laid on the huſbandman and the labourer. Thoſe who were punctual in their payments, ſaw no probable end of their exertions, whilſt the negligence of others occaſioned repeated demands. Private creditors, who had ſuffered by long forbearance, were importunate for their dues; and the Courts of Law were full of ſuits.

The people who felt themſelves diſtreſſed, held conferences with a view to deviſe means of redreſs. The remedy which appeared to many of them moſt eaſy, was a new emiſſion of paper bills, funded on real eſtate, and loaned on intereſt. To effect this, petitions were addreſſed to the Legiſlature; and to remedy the grievance, as far as it was occaſioned by a debt of the State, an act was paſſed, to draw into the Treaſury all notes iſſued by the State, and give certificates for the intereſt, and for fifteen per cent. of the principal, annually; 1785. Feb. 24.

1785. which certificates were to be received by the Treaſurer for taxes, 'in lieu of, and equal to 'ſilver and gold.' By this means, it was expected that the debt would gradually be extinguiſhed; and that the people would eaſily be enabled to pay at leaſt one ſpecies of their taxes.

This was far from ſatisfying the complainants. The public ſecurities, they ſaid, were engroſſed by rich ſpeculators, and the poor were diſtreſſed for the means of paying their taxes and their private debts. The cry for paper money was inceſſant; and the people were called upon in the public papers, 'to 'aſſert their own majeſty, as the origin of 'power, and to make their Governors know, 'that they are but the executors of the pub-'lic will.'

To this clamor, the voice of reaſon and juſtice calmly anſwered; that it was not in the power of the Legiſlature to eſtabliſh any fund, which ſhould ſecure paper money from depreciation; that there was ſo much paper then in circulation, and the time of its redemption was ſo diſtant, that the notes paſſed at a diſcount of ſixty, and the certificates of twenty per cent; that if the quantity were increaſed, the depreciation would increaſe in proportion; that if bills were iſſued and made a tender in all payments, it would never be in the power of government to redeem them by ſilver and gold, becauſe none could be collected; and in that caſe, no part of the continental or foreign debt could be diſcharged; that if bills were loaned on land ſecurity, it would be in the power of the public debtor to purchaſe the bills at a re-

duced value, and with them to make his payment at the Treaſury, in which caſe, though the public cheſt might be filled with paper, yet the government would ſuffer all the embarraſſment of poverty. It was added, that the Legiſlature were by the Conſtitution expreſsly forbidden to make retroſpective laws, and had no right to alter the nature of private contracts; and that ſhould the majority of the people petition the government to make paper a lawful tender, it would be their duty to reject the petition as unconſtitutional. When it was propoſed, that the paper ſhould not be a tender for paſt but only for future contracts; it was anſwered, that this would not relieve the debtor, who was ſuffering for his paſt engagements, and the difficulties which it pretended to cure would ſtill exiſt. 1785.

In vain were agriculture and manufactures, induſtry and frugality recommended as the only adequate ſources of relief; the complainants had no diſpoſition to apply a remedy ſo ſlow in its operation; and indeed it was doubtful whether the utmoſt exertions in that way would have been ſufficient, completely to extricate us out of theſe difficulties, without ſome alteration in our confederated government.

Similar difficulties, at the ſame time, exiſted in the neighbouring State of Maſſachuſetts; to remedy which, among other palliatives, a law was paſſed called a *tender-act*, 'by 'which it was provided that executions iſſued for private demands, might be ſatisfied 'by cattle and other enumerated articles, at 'an appraiſement of impartial men under 'oath.' For ſuch a law the diſcontented

Minot's Hiſtory of the Inſurrections, page 15.

1785. party in New-Hampshire petitioned; and to
Nov. 8. gratify them the Legislature enacted, that 'when any debtor shall tender to his creditor, in satisfaction of an execution for debt, 'either real or personal estate sufficient, the 'body of the debtor shall be exempt from 'imprisonment, and the debt shall carry an 'interest of six per cent; the creditor being 'at liberty either to receive the estate, so tendered, at a value estimated by three appraisers, or to keep alive the demand by taking 'out an alias, within one year after the return 'of any former execution, and levying it on 'any estate of the debtor which he can find.' At the same time an act was made, enlarging the power of Justices of the Peace, to try and determine actions of debt and trespass to the value of ten pounds. These laws were complained of as unconstitutional; the former as being retrospective, and changing the nature of contracts; the latter as depriving the creditor, in certain cases, of a right to trial by Jury. But so strong was the clamor for redress of grievances; and so influential was the example of the neighbouring State, that some of the best men in the Legislature found it necessary to comply; whilst another part were secretly in favor of worse measures.

The tender-act, at first, was made for two years only; before the expiration of which it was revived, with some alterations, and continued for three years longer. The effect of this law, in cases where an attempt was made to execute it, was, that the most valuable kinds of property were either concealed or made over to a third person; and when the Sheriff came with an execution, it was

levied on such articles as were of little use to the creditor. But the most general effect of the law was to prevent any demand on the part of the creditor, and to encourage the debtor in neglecting payment. 1785.

The scarcity of money was still a grievance which the laws had not remedied, but rather had a tendency to increase. To encourage its importation into the country the Legislature exempted from all port duties, except light-money, every vessel which should bring gold and silver only; and from one half of the duties, if a sum of money equal to one half of the cargo should be imported. But it was to no purpose to import money, unless encouragement were given for its circulation, which could not be expected whilst the tender-act was in force; for every man who owned money thought it more secure in his own hands, than in the hands of others. 1786.

The clamor for paper currency increased, and, like a raging fever, approached toward a crisis. In every town there was a party in favor of it, and the public papers were continually filled with declamations on the subject. It was said that an emission of bills of credit would give a spring to commerce and encourage agriculture; that the poor would be able to pay their debts and taxes; that all the arguments against issuing paper were framed by speculators, and were intended to serve the wealthy part of the community, who had monopolised the public securities, that they might raise their value and get all the good bargains into their own hands; that other States in the union had issued paper bills, and were rejoicing in the happy effects

1786. of their currency *without any depreciation*; that the people had a right to call upon their Repreſentatives to ſtamp a value on paper, or leather, or any other ſubſtance capable of receiving an impreſſion; and that to prevent its depreciation, a law ſhould be enacted to puniſh with baniſhment and outlawry, every perſon who ſhould attempt by any means to leſſen its value.*

The ſame party who were ſo zealous in favor of paper currency, and againſt laws which obliged them to pay their debts, proceeded to inveigh againſt Courts and lawyers. The Inferior Courts were repreſented as ſinecures for Judges and Clerks; the defaulting, appealing, demurring, abatements, fees and bills of coſts, without any deciſion, were complained of as burdens, and an abolition of theſe courts became a part of the popular cry. But the party did not content themſelves with writing in the public papers. An attempt was made to call a convention, at Concord, whilſt the Aſſembly were ſitting there, who ſhould petition the Legiſlature in favor of the plan; and it was thought, that the preſence of ſuch a body of men, convened at the ſame time and place, would have great weight. This attempt was defeated in a manner ſingular and humorous.

* A ſpecimen of the language uſed on this occaſion is as follows.—'Seven States are now bleſſed with harmony, plenty and happineſs. 'Worthy, induſtrious men can go to market with a penny in their pockets; their benevolent friends, the farmers, meet them half way with 'cheerfulneſs, and are as ready to receive as they to offer; now one greets 'the other with ſocial benedictions, trade flouriſhes, agriculture increaſes, 'mutual confidence is reſtored, and harmony reigns triumphant. Elyſian 'fields theſe! when contraſted with the bondage of the inhabitants of 'New-Hampſhire; for 'in the midſt of life, they are in death,' death of 'the worſt kind, penury and want of the common bleſſings of Providence. 'How long, freemen of New Hampſhire, can ye bear the yoke of op'preſſion!' New-Hampſhire Gazette, July 20, 1786.

At the first sitting of the Assembly, when five only of the members of the proposed convention were in town, some wags, among whom were several young lawyers, pretended to have been chosen by the towns in which they lived for the same purpose. In conference with the five, they penetrated their views, and persuaded them to post an advertisement, for all the members who were in town to assemble immediately; it being of the utmost importance to present their petition as early in the session as possible. By this means, sixteen pretended members, with the five real ones, formed themselves into a convention, choosing one of the five their President, and one of the sixteen their Clerk. They carried on their debates and passed votes with much apparent solemnity. Having framed a petition, complaining in the most extravagant terms of their grievances; praying for a loan of *three millions* of dollars, funded on real estate; for the abolition of Inferior Courts, and a reduction of the number of lawyers, to two only in a county; and for a free trade with all the world; they went in procession to the Assembly, (some of whom had been previously let into the secret) and with great formality presented their petition, which was suffered to lie on the table, and was afterwards withdrawn. The convention then dissolved; and when others who had been really chosen by the towns arrived, they were exceedingly mortified on finding their views for that time so completely frustrated. 1786. June.

The next effort of the party was to call County Conventions. Of what class of people these were composed, some idea may be

1786. formed from this circumſtance. An innholder, at whoſe houſe one of theſe conventions firſt met, refuſed to take their promiſe for lumber to pay the expenſe of their meeting; upon which they adjourned to a ware-houſe, belonging to one of the party, and were treated with liquor gratis.

From two of theſe conventions, and from ſeveral towns in different parts of the State, petitions were preſented to the Legiſlature, at Sept. 13. their ſeſſion in Exeter. On calm deliberation, theſe petitions appeared to be inconſiſtent with each other, with the conſtitution, with juſtice and public faith. But to ſtill the clamor and collect the real ſenſe of the people on the ſubject of paper currency; the Aſſembly formed a plan for the emiſſion of fifty thouſand pounds, to be let at four per cent. on land ſecurity; to be a tender in payment of State taxes, and for the fees and ſalaries of public officers. This plan was immediately printed, and ſent to the ſeveral towns; and the people were deſired to give their opinions in town meetings for and againſt it, and to make return of their votes to the Aſſembly at their next ſeſſion.

This way of proceeding did not coincide with the views of the party; the principal directors of which endeavoured to conceal themſelves, whilſt they perſuaded a conſiderable number of perſons of various characters, to appear openly in ſupport of the petitions. They took pains to ſpread falſe reports through the country; and among other things, it was ſaid that the Aſſembly had paſſed an act, to refund the value of the confiſcated eſtates, which was to be immediately aſſeſſed on the people.

It muſt be obſerved, that at this time, cauſes of a ſimilar nature had excited numbers of people in ſome counties of Maſſachuſetts, to aſſemble in arms and prevent the Judicial Courts from ſitting. This example, aided by falſe reports, and a ſenſe of grievances, partly real and partly imaginary, operated ſo powerfully on the minds of a number of people, in the weſtern part of the county of Rockingham; that on the morning of the twentieth of September, about two hundred men aſſembled at Kingſton, ſix miles from Exeter, where they choſe leaders and procured a drum. By the help of ſome militia officers they formed themſelves into military order, and in the afternoon marched to Exeter; about one third of them being armed with muſkets, and the others with ſwords and clubs. Having entered the confines of the town, they halted; and ſent a paper to the Aſſembly, ſigned by one of them who ſtyled himſelf moderator, demanding an anſwer to their former petition immediately. They then marched through the town, and paraded before the meeting-houſe, where both Houſes of Aſſembly were holding a conference. The doors were open, and as many of them as were diſpoſed, entered. The Preſident, in a cool and deliberate ſpeech, explained the reaſons on which the Aſſembly had proceeded in rejecting the petitions; expoſed the weakneſs, inconſiſtency and injuſtice of their requeſt; and ſaid, that if it were ever ſo juſt and proper in itſelf, and if the whole body of the people were in favor of it, yet the Legiſlature ought not to comply with it, whilſt ſurrounded by an armed force. To 1786. Sept. 20.

1786. do this, would be, to betray the rights of the people, which they had all folemnly ſworn to ſupport. He concluded by declaring, that no conſideration of perſonal danger would ever compel them to violate the rights of their conſtituents.

This ſpeech being ended, the drum beat to arms; as many as had guns were ordered to load them with balls; ſentries were placed at the doors, and the whole Legiſlature were held priſoners; the mob threatening death to any perſon who ſhould attempt to eſcape, till their demands were granted. The Aſſembly went on with their buſineſs, taking no farther notice of the rioters, till the approach of evening; when the Preſident attempted to go out, but was ſtopped by an impenetrable column. He then reaſoned with them, and warned them of the fatal tendency of their conduct, aſſuring them, that the force of the country would ſupport the government. Their anſwers to him were inſolent and reproachful. They raiſed a cry for paper-money, an equal diſtribution of property, and a releaſe from debts. The inhabitants of Exeter had all this time beheld with ſilence the inſult offered to the Legiſlature; having no orders to take arms, they reſtrained their indignation, till the duſk of the evening; when ſome of them beat a drum at a diſtance, and others cried, 'Huzza for 'government! Bring up the artillery!' At the ſound of theſe words the mob were ſtruck with a panic, and began to diſperſe. Their moderator ordered them to meet again, at nine of the clock the next morning, and they ſcattered in every direction.

The Assembly being thus at liberty, requested the President to call out the force of the State to quell the insurrection. In the evening he issued his orders, and before morning companies of militia, well armed, began to come in from the neighbouring towns. By ten of the clock in the morning a sufficient body of horse and foot, with field-pieces and military music, having arrived; the President put them in motion against the insurgents, who were then parading, about a mile distant. Having by their spies obtained intelligence of the motion of the militia, the unarmed part of the insurgents retreated to a hill beyond the river; the others kept their ground till a party of light-horse appeared in view, and then the whole body retired. Some of them were taken by the pursuers; others recovered the bridge at King's-fall, and being met by those who had first retreated, made an appearance as if they would dispute the passage. Orders were given by one of their leaders to fire; but the force of the government appeared so formidable that they dared not to obey. The officers of the militia rushed in among them, seized their moderator and others to the number of forty, the rest fled with precipitation, and no farther pursuit was made. The prisoners were disarmed and conducted to the town; where they were brought to an examination before the President and Council. Had these men been engaged in a good cause, and commanded by proper officers, they would have maintained the honor of their country, and fought her battles with ardor and perseverance; but, conscious of their inconsistency in opposing a

1786. Sept. 21.

1786. government of their own eſtabliſhing, their native fortitude forſook them; and they gave an example of the moſt humiliating ſubmiſſion. Moſt of them profeſſed to be aſhamed of their conduct, and their ſhame appeared to be ſincere.

The dignity of government being thus vindicated, its lenity was equally conſpicuous. Six only of the priſoners were detained, and a party of light-horſe was ſent to apprehend two others of the moſt culpable. They were taken out of their beds and brought to Exeter. This manœuvre had an excellent effect, for ſome, who knew themſelves equally guilty, were afraid to ſleep in their own houſes. The Superior Court being then in ſeſſion at Exeter, theſe eight priſoners were arraigned on an indictment for treaſon. One dropping on his knees, pleaded guilty; others heſitated when they pronounced the words 'not guilty.' They were ordered to recogniſe for their appearance at the next Superior Court, when their bonds were diſcharged. Some of them, who belonged to the Preſbyterian Churches, were cited before the eccleſiaſtical ſeſſion, and there cenſured, as oppoſers of juſt government. Others, being militia officers, were tried by a general Court Martial; of theſe, ſome were caſhiered, but not incapacitated for future ſervice; ſome were reprimanded, and others were acquitted. The whole oppoſition was completely ſubdued; wavering minds became ſettled; converts were made to the ſide of government; and the ſyſtem of knavery received a deep wound, from which it has not ſince recovered.

Sept. 25.

The plan which had been iſſued by the Aſſembly, for emitting paper-money, was in courſe referred to the people, in their town-meetings; and at the next ſeſſion the returns were made, when a majority appeared againſt it. To finiſh the whole matter, two queſtions were put in the Aſſembly. The firſt was, 'whether the Legiſlature can, conſiſtently 'with the conſtitution, and their oaths, paſs 'an act making paper bills of credit, a tender 'to diſcharge private contracts, made prior 'to the paſſing ſuch act?' The other was, 'whether paper-money be emitted on any 'plan which has been propoſed?' Both theſe queſtions were determined in the negative. 1787. Jan. 4.

To obſerve the progreſs of wiſdom and virtue, and the obſtacles which are laid in the way of vice, is a moſt pleaſing entertainment to the philanthropiſt; and it is but juſt, in ſuch a contemplation, to acknowledge that ſuperintending influence, which brings good out of evil. It was feared by many, that the American revolution would not produce that ſum of political happineſs which its warmeſt advocates had fondly predicted. The efforts of faction in ſeveral of the States were very alarming. in New-Hampſhire, the aſſault being made directly at the ſupreme head of the government, the force of the State immediately roſe and cruſhed it. In Maſſachuſetts, the attacks were made on the Judicial Courts, which of themſelves had no power effectually to oppoſe them. The diſaffection there roſe to a higher degree; it was more extenſively diffuſed, and with more difficulty quelled. But at length the conſtitutional powers of government being exerted with

1787. vigor, the ſpirit of anarchy was ſuppreſſed. In another neighbouring State, the ſame ſpirit reigned triumphant. A depreciating currency was eſtabliſhed by law, and pertinaciouſly adhered too by the government.

The imbecility of the confederation by which the States were united, had long been felt, and ſome attempts had been making to ſtrengthen it; but the view of our ſituation at this time demonſtrated the total inefficacy of that conſtitution, to bind together thirteen diſtinct ſovereignties, over which no coercive power was eſtabliſhed, which could prevent or cure ſuch evils as threatened the deſtruction of all public and private credit. Happily for the American union, the remedy exiſted within itſelf. The good ſenſe and public virtue of the great body of our citizens readily adopted the idea of a CONVENTION OF THE STATES. The firſt propoſal came from Virginia, where American liberty was firſt publicly aſſerted, when it was flagrantly violated by the ſtamp act. The name of *Patrick Henry* will ever be illuſtrious in the American annals for moving the reſolves of 1765; and the name of *James Madiſon* will be equally diſtinguiſhed for propoſing the convention of 1787.

To this convention, which was holden at Philadelphia, all the States, except *one*, ſent their delegates. After a cloſe and particular inveſtigation, they produced a new federal conſtitution; containing adequate remedies for thoſe political diſorders, which had threatened with extinction, the liberty and independence of the American States.

Among other wiſe proviſions, to eſtabliſh 1787.
juſtice and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty, thoſe which reſpect public and private credit are not the leaſt conſpicuous. To ſupport the former, the Congreſs has a power which, by the firſt confederation, was not delegated, 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts, and 'exciſes, to pay the debts and provide for the 'common defence and general welfare of the 'United States.' For the latter it is declared, that 'no State ſhall coin money, emit bills of 'credit, make any thing but gold and ſilver 'coin a tender in payment of debts, paſs any 'bill of attainder or expoſt facto law, or any 'law impairing the obligation of contracts.'

When this new Conſtitution was propoſed to the people, conventions were called in each State to conſider it. In theſe bodies, compoſed of perſons who repreſented impartially every claſs and deſcription of the people, and who were themſelves equally various in their principles, habits and views; the Conſtitution underwent the moſt critical and ſevere diſcuſſion. Whilſt it was in debate, the anxiety of all parties was extended to the utmoſt degree, and the efforts of its friends and its oppoſers were unremitted.

After the Conſtitution had been, with the 1788.
help of ſome propoſed amendments, adopted Feb. 13.
by Maſſachuſetts, a convention was called at Exeter in New-Hampſhire. At its firſt meeting, a debate which continued ten days ended in an adjournment for four months; at the expiration of which term, in a ſhort ſeſſion of three days only at Concord, the queſ- June 22.
tion for adopting and ratifying the Conſtitution, was, with the ſame help as in Maſſachu-

1788. ſetts, carried in the affirmative, by a majority of eleven ; the whole number preſent being one hundred and three. This was the *ninth* State in the Union which accepted the Conſtitution ; and thus the number was completed which was neceſſary to put in motion the political machine. In about a month, two more States were added. Then a Congreſs was formed, and the illuſtrious WASH-
1789. INGTON, by the unanimous ſuffrage of the people, was placed in the firſt ſeat of government. Three other States, of which one is Vermont, have ſince been admitted into the union ; and there is now in operation a gen-
1790. eral ſyſtem of energetic government, which pervades every part of the United States, and has already produced a ſurpriſing alteration for the better. By the funding of the Continental debt, and the aſſumption of the debts of the individual States, into one general maſs, a foundation is laid for the ſupport of public credit ; by which means the American revolution appears to be completed. Let it be the ſincere prayer and endeavour of every thoughtful citizen, that ſuch harmony may prevail between the general government, and the juriſdiction of each State, as the peculiar delicacy of their connexion requires ; and that the bleſſings of ‘ peace, liberty and ſafe-
‘ ty,’ ſo dearly obtained, may deſcend inviolate to our poſterity.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A chronological detail of the different forms of government in New-Hampshire, from the beginning of its settlement to the present time; with the names of the Chief Magistrates.

1623 SEVERAL families of fishermen and planters, under the direction of the company of Laconia and their agents.

1638 Three voluntary associations for government, at Portsmouth, Dover and Exeter. Hampton being considered as part of Massachusetts.

1641 All the settlements by a voluntary act submitted to Massachusetts, and were comprehended in the county of Norfolk, which extended from Merrimack to Piscataqua rivers.

1680 A royal government was established by commission from Charles II.

1681 John Cutts, Richard Waldron, } Presidents.

1682 Edward Cranfield, Lieutenant Governor.*

1685 Walter Barefoote, Deputy Governor.

1686 A general government was established over the territory called New-England, by James II.
Joseph Dudley, President.

1687 Sir Edmund Andross, Governor.

1689 After the deposition of Andross, New-Hampshire, by a voluntary act, became again united with Massachusettss as under the old charter.

1692 John Usher published the commission of Samuel Allen, and officiated as Lieutenant Governor.

1697 William Partridge was appointed Lieutenant Governor.

* Since writing the first volume, I have met with a gentleman of Jamaica, who is a great grandson of Lieut. Governor Cranfield. From him I learned, that Mr. Cranfield was of the family of Lord Monteagle, who was instrumental of discovering the popish plot in the reign of James I. That after his departure from New-Hampshire, and whilst he resided at Barbadoes, he suggested the expediency of the 4 and an half per cent. duty on sugars to the British government, which was granted by the Assemblies of the islands, and has ever since been continued. That in the reign of King William III, he procured a ship of war, at his own expense, and presented it to the Crown. That he died about the beginning of the present century, and was buried in the Cathedral Church, at Bath, in England.

1698 Samuel Allen took the Chair as Governor, and restored Usher to his seat as Lieutenant Governor.
1699 Richard, Earl of Bellomont, Governor of New-York, Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, opened his commission in New-Hampshire, under whom William Partridge officiated as Lieutenant Governor.
1702 Joseph Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.
John Usher reappointed Lieutenant Governor.
1715 George Vaughan, Lieutenant Governor.
1716 Samuel Shute, Governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.
1717 John Wentworth, Lieutenant Governor; and after Shute's departure in 1722, Commander in Chief.
1729 William Burnet, Governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.
1730 Jonathan Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.
1731 David Dunbar, Lieutenant Governor; he returned to England in 1737.
1741 Benning Wentworth, Governor. No Lieutenant Governor for 25 years.
1762 John Temple, Lieutenant Governor, merely titular; he never officiated.
1767 John Wentworth, Governor.
1775 The British Government was dissolved, and the people formed a Provincial Convention, of which Matthew Thornton was President.
1776 A temporary Constitution was framed to continue during the war with Great-Britain. Under this Constitution.
Meshech Weare was annually elected President.
1784 A new and permanent Constitution took place, under which the following Presidents of the State have been annually elected.
* Meshech Weare,
1785 John Langdon,
1786 } John Sullivan,
1787 }

* President Weare, being worn out with public services, resigned his office before the expiration of the year; and after languishing under the infirmities of age, died on the 15th of January, 1786, ætat 73.

His ancestors had been in public stations, from the first establishment of the Province. He himself had been employed in public business about forty five years. He was chosen Speaker of the House in 1752. Commissioner to the Congress at Albany in 1754; afterward one of the Justices of the Superior Court; and in 1777, Chief Justice. He was not a person of an original and inventive genius, but had a clear discernment, extensive knowledge, accurate judgment, a calm temper, a modest deportment, an upright and benevolent heart and a habit of prudence and diligence in discharging the various duties of public and private life. He did not enrich himself by his public employments, but was one of those good men, "Who dare to love their country and be *poor*."

1788 John Langdon,
1789 John Sullivan,
1790 } Josiah Bartlett.
1791 }

N. B. In case of a vacancy within the year, the senior Counsellor presides.

No. II.

A catalogue of Counsellors in New Hampshire under the royal government. With the years when they were appointed, and the times of their death, as far as either can be ascertained.

N. B. Where no dash is placed in the first column, the date of the appointment is the same as the preceding. Where a dash is placed, the time is uncertain.

Appointment.	*Names.*	*Death.*
1680	JOHN CUTTS, President.	1681
	Richard Martin, Treasurer.	1693
	William Vaughan, Recorder.	1719
	Thomas Daniel.	1683
	John Gilman.	1708
	Christopher Hussey.	1685
	Richard Waldron, President.	1689
	Elias Stileman, Secretary.	1695
	Samuel Dalton.	1681
1680	Job Clements.	1717
	Robert Mason, Chancellor.	1688
1681	Richard Waldron.	1730
	Anthony Nutter.	
1682	Walter Barefoote, Deputy Governor.	
	Richard Chamberlayne, Secretary.	
1683	Nathaniel Fryer, President.	
	Robert Elliot.	
	John Hinckes, President.	
	Edward Randolph.	
1684	James Sherlock.	
	Francis Champernoon.	
	Robert Wadleigh.	
1685	Henry Green.	1700
1692	John Usher, Lieutenant Governor.	1726
	Thomas Graffort, } named in Usher's	
	John Walford, } commission, but not	
	John Love, } in the Council books.	
	Peter Coffin.	
	John Gerrish.	1714
	Nathaniel Weare, Agent.	1718
1697	William Partridge, Lieutenant Governor.	
1698	Joseph Smith, } appointed by Govern-	
	Kingsley Hall, } or Allen, during his	
	Sampson Sheafe, } short administration.	
	Peter weare, }	
1702	Samuel Penhallow, Treas. and Recorder.	1726
	John Plaisted.	

Appointment.	*Names.*	*Death.*
	Henry Dow.	1707
	George Jaffrey.	1706
1710	Mark Hunking, Recorder.	
1712	John Wentworth, Lieut. Governor.	1730
1715	George Vaughan, Lieut. Governor.	1724
1716	Richard Gerrish.	1717
	Theodore Atkinson.	1719
	Shadrach Walton, Prefident.	
	George Jaffrey, Treafurer.	1749
	Richard Wibird.	1732
	Thomas Weftbrooke.	1736
1719	Thomas Packer.	1723
1722	Archibald McPhedris.	
1723	John Froft.	
1724	Jotham Odiorne.	
1728	Henry Sherburne.	1758
	Richard Waldron, Secretary.	1753
1732	Joſhua Peirce, Recorder.	1743
1734	Benning Wentworth, Governor.	1770
	Theodore Atkinſon, Secretary.	1779
	Ephraim Dennet.	
——	Benjamin Gamblin.	1737
1739	Richard Wibird,	1765
——	Ellis Huſke.	1755
——	Joſeph Sherburne.	1744
1740	John Rindge.	1740
——	John Downing.	1766
——	Samuel Smith.	1760
——	Joſeph Blanchard.	1758
——	Sampſon Sheafe.	1772
1753	Samuel Solley.	
	Daniel Warner,	1778
1754	Joſeph Newmarch.	1765
1759	Mark Hunking Wentworth.	1785
1759	James Nevin.	1768
1761	John Nelſon.	1787
1762	William Temple.	1789
	Theodore Atkinſon, Secretary.	1769
	Nathaniel Barrell.	
1765	Peter Livius.	
1766	Jonathan Warner.	
	Daniel Rindge.	
	Daniel Peirce, Recorder.	1773
	George Jaffrey, Treaſurer.	
	Henry Sherburne.	1767
	Daniel Rogers.	
1772	Peter Gilman.	1787
	Thomas Weſtbrooke Waldron.	1785
1774	John Sherburne.	
	John Phillips.	
1775	George Boyd.	1787

No. III.

Alphabetical list of Delegates to Congress, before and during the Confederation.

N. B. Those marked thus * are dead.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
*Jonathan Blanchard,
*Nathaniel Folsom,
Abiel Foster,
George Frost,
John Taylor Gilman,
Nicholas Gilman,
John Langdon,
Woodbury Langdon,
Samuel Livermore,
*Peirce Long,
Nathaniel Peabody,
John Sullivan,
Matthew Thornton,
*John Wentworth,
*William Whipple,
Phillips White,
Paine Wingate.

Delegates to the Convention of the United States, in 1787.
John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Under the present Federal Constitution.

Senators, John Langdon, Paine Wingate.
Representatives, Samuel Livermore, Nicholas Gilman, Abiel Foster, Jeremiah Smith.

No. IV.

A table of the number of rateable polls; amount of rateable estate, and number of Representatives in the several counties, in the Province of New-Hampshire, A. D. 1773.

Counties.	*Representatives.*	*No. of rateable polls.*	*Amount of rateable estate.*
Rockingham	21	7570	£10,528
Strafford	6	2292	3,101
Hillsborough	4	2946	3,888
Cheshire	3	2052	2,445
Grafton		642	686
	34	15502	£20.648

34 Members representing 46 towns—8729 rateable polls.
Unrepresented 101 towns—6773 rateable polls.

147 15502 polls.

No. V.

An exact table, shewing the rate of Representation, in the Legislature of the Province of New-Hampshire, A. D. 1773, with the proportion of such representation to the taxation of the several towns.

Names of towns represented.	No of Represent.	The proportion each town paid to every £1000.			Proportion to each Represent.		
PORTSMOUTH	3			58 2 0	19	7	0
Dover	2	25 13 0					
Madbury		11 2 0		36 15 0	18	7	6
Hampton	2	14 9 0					
Northampton		9 14 0		24 3 0	12	1	6
Hampton Falls	1			10 17 0	10	17	0
Exeter	2	24 4 0					
Brentwood		14 10 0					
Epping		23 10 0					
Poplin		6 5 0		68 9 0	34	4	6
Newcastle	2	5 16 0					
Rye		11 2 0		16 18 0	8	9	0
Kingston	1	14 9 0					
East-Kingston		7 5 0					
Sandown		7 12 0					
Hawke		7 15 0		37 1 0	37	1	0
Newington	1			9 13 0	9	13	0
Stratham	1			18 3 0	18	3	0
Londonderry	1	35 15 0					
Windham		5 0 0		40 15 0	40	15	0
Greenland	1			10 17 0	10	17	0
Durham	1	17 12 0					
Lee		12 6 0		29 18 0	29	18	0
Newmarket	1			17 10 0	17	10	0
Southampton	1			7 15 0	7	15	0
Chester	1	22 8 0					
Candia		8 6 0					
Raymond		7 13 0		38 7 0	38	7	0
Plastow	1	7 7 0					
Hampstead		7 15 0					
Atkinson		9 13 0		24 15 0	24	15	0
Salem	1	14 10 0					
Pelham		9 11 0		24 1 0	24	1	0
Somersworth	1			16 0 0	16	0	0
Hollis	1			16 18 0	16	18	0
Merrimack	1			7 5 0	7	5	0
Nottingham West	1	8 9 0					
Litchfield		5 6 0		13 15 0	13	15	0
Kensington	1			14 0 0	14	0	0
Rochester	1			18 15 0	18	15	0
Barrington	1			14 0 0	14	0	0
Amherst	1	19 7 0					
Bedford		7 5 0		26 12 0	26	12	0

Names of towns represented.	No. of Repre sent.	The proportion each town paid to every £1000.	Proportion to each Represent.
Winchester	1	8 4 0	8 4 0
Keene	1	10 12 0	10 12 0
Charlestown	1	9 4	9 4 0
46 Towns represented by	34 memb	and pay 629 4 0	of each £1000
101 Towns not represented		which pay 370 16 0	of each £1000
147 Towns.	34 memb.	£1000 0 0	

This and the foregoing table were calculated by *Wentworth Cheswill*, Esq of Newmarket.

No. VI.

Copy of a letter from his Excellency General WASHINGTON, *to* THOMAS CHITTENDEN, *Esquire.*

[Certified by Tobias Lear, Esq. private Secretary to the President of the United States.]

Philadelphia, 1st January, 1782.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your favor of the 14th of November, by Mr. Brownson. You cannot be at a loss to know why I have not heretofore, and why I cannot now, address you in your public character, or answer you in mine: But the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me, gives me an opportunity of offering you my sentiments, as an individual, wishing most ardently to see the peace and union of his country, preserved, and the just rights of the people of every part of it fully and firmly established.

It is not my business, neither do I think it necessary now, to discuss the origin of the right of a number of inhabitants to that tract of country formerly distinguished by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, and now known by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted that their right was good, because Congress, by their resolve of the 7th of August, imply it; and by that of the 21st, are willing fully to confirm it, provided the new State is confined to certain described bounds. It appears, therefore, to me, that the dispute of boundary is the only one that exists, and that that being removed all further difficulties would be removed also, and the matter terminated to the satisfaction of all parties. Now I would ask you candidly, whether the claim of the people of Vermont, was not, for a long time, confined solely, or very nearly, to that tract of country which is described in the resolve of Congress of the 21st of August last; and whether, agreeable to the tenor of your own letter to me, the late extension of your claim upon New-Hampshire and New-York, was not more a political maœuvre, than one in which you conceived yourselves justifiable

If my firſt queſtion be anſwered in the affirmative, it certainly bars your new claim. And if my ſecond be well founded, your end is anſwered, and you have nothing to do but withdraw your juriſdiction to the confines of your old limits, and obtain an acknowledgment of independence and ſovereignty, under the reſolve of the 21ſt of Auguſt, for ſo much territory as does not interfere with the ancient eſtabliſhed bounds of New-York, New Hampſhire and Maſſachuſetts. I perſuade myſelf you will ſee and acquieſce in the reaſon, the juſtice, and indeed the neceſſity of ſuch a deciſion.

You muſt conſider, Sir, that the point now in diſpute is of the utmoſt political importance to the future union and peace of this great country. The State of Vermont, if acknowledged, will be the firſt new one admitted into the confederacy; and if ſuffered to encroach upon the ancient eſtabliſhed boundaries of the adjacent ones, will ſerve as a precedent for others, which it may hereafter be expedient to ſet off, to make the ſame unjuſtifiable demands. Thus, in my private opinion, while it behoves the Delegates of the States now confederated, to do ample juſtice to a body of people ſufficiently reſpectable by their numbers, and entitled by other claims to be admitted into that confederation, it becomes them alſo to attend to the intereſts of their conſtituents, and ſee, that under the appearance of juſtice to one, they do not materially injure the rights of others. I am apt to think this is the prevailing opinion of Congreſs, and that your late extenſion of claim has, upon the principle I have above mentioned, rather diminiſhed than increaſed your friends; and that, if ſuch extenſion ſhould be perſiſted in, it will be made a common cauſe, and not conſidered as only affecting the rights of thoſe States immediately intereſted in the loſs of territory; a loſs of too ſerious a nature not to claim the attention of any people. There is no calamity within the compaſs of my foreſight, which is more to be dreaded than a neceſſity of *coertion* on the part of Congreſs; and conſequently every endeavour ſhould be uſed to prevent the execution of ſo diſagreeable a meaſure. It muſt involve the ruin of that State againſt which the reſentment of the others is pointed.

I will only add a few words upon the ſubject of the negociations, which have been carried on between you and the enemy in Canada and in New-York. I will take it for granted, as you aſſert it, that they were ſo far innocent, that there never was any ſerious intention of joining Great-Britain in their attempts to ſubjugate your country; but it has had this certain bad tendency, it has ſerved to give ſome ground to that deluſive opinion of the enemy, and upon which they, in a great meaſure, found their hopes of ſucceſs; that they have numerous friends among us, who only want a proper opportunity to ſhew themſelves openly; and that internal diſputes and feuds will ſoon break us in pieces. At the ſame time the ſeeds of diſtruſt and jealouſy are ſcattered among ourſelves by a

conduct of this kind. If you are ſerious in your profeſſions, theſe will be additional motives for accepting the terms which have been offered, (and which appear to me equitable) and thereby convincing the common enemy, that all their expectations of diſunion are vain, and that they have been worſted at their own weapon—deception.

As you unboſom yourſelf to me, I thought I had the greater right of ſpeaking my ſentiments openly and candidly to you. I have done ſo, and if they ſhould produce the effect which I moſt ſincerely wiſh, that of an honorable and amicable adjuſtment of a matter, which, if carried to hoſtile lengths, may deſtroy the future happineſs of my country, I ſhall have attained my end, while the enemy will be defeated of theirs.

Believe me to be, with great reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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